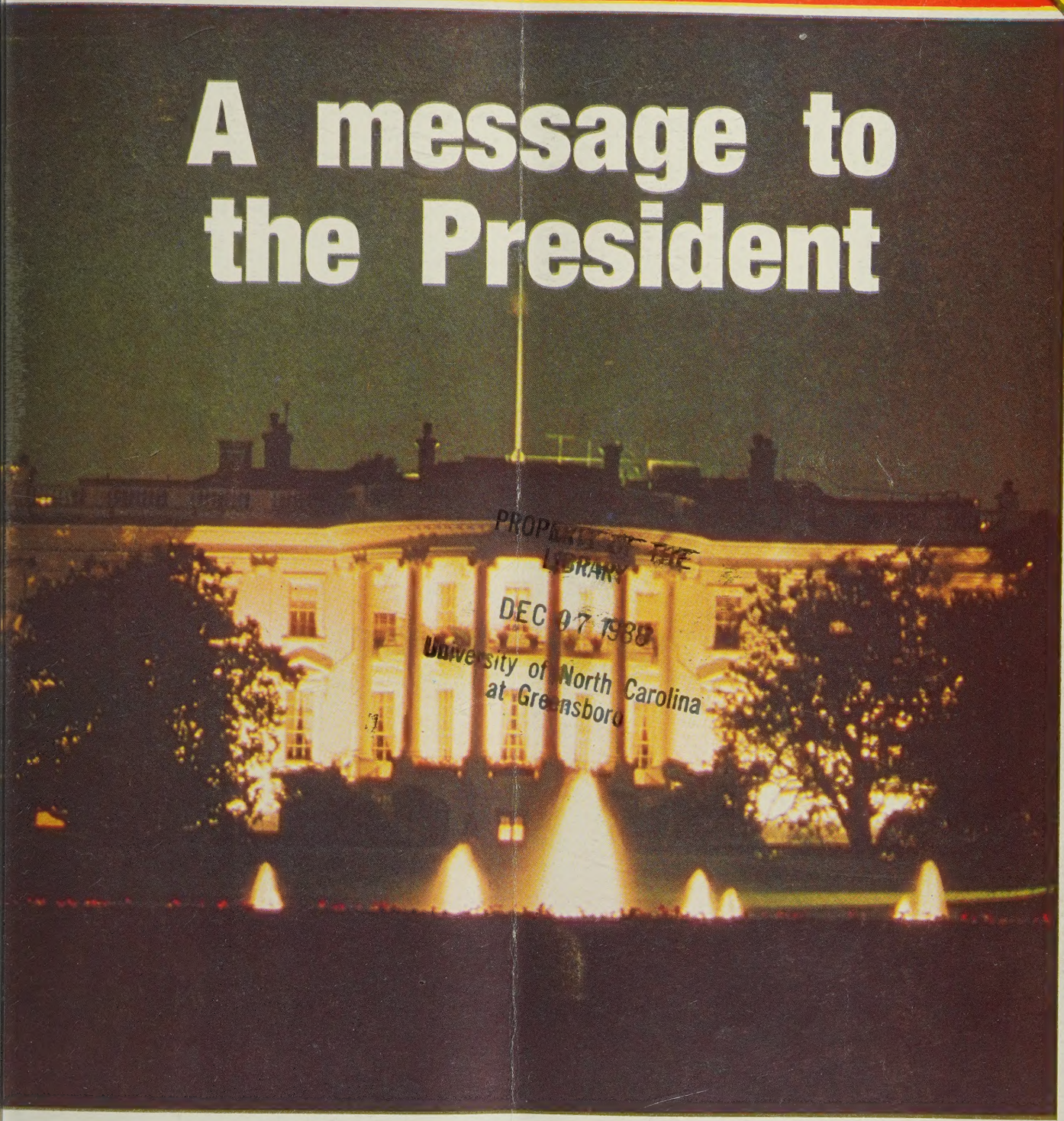
46
NOVEMBER 1988

A SOVIET WEEKLY
OF WORLD AFFAIRS

NEW TIMES

A pogrom in Berlin, 1938

A message to the President



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NEW TIMES

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Genuine democracy is unthinkable without freedom of thought and speech, without open discussions and clashes of opinion on a wide range of subjects. This is why the rehabilitation of socialist pluralism is now on the order of the day.
See p. 34

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Cover by Vladimir Pchelkin

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OPINIONS

David R. Weisbard
preacher, Unitarian Church
Chautauqua, U.S.A.

■ I have kept up with you: I am now a subscriber to and reader of New Times. I especially appreciated the printing by your magazine of the letter from Einstein. If only our publications would take such steps.

Glasnost and perestroika have made a real impact on more than the Soviet Union. Some Americans, on occasion, ask whether we might not also benefit from some perestroika here. You know I think so.

It is strange to see a cold-war warrior like Reagan engaging in dialogues with your General Secretary. I don't believe he knows what he is doing, but at last he is doing it. Is this the same man whom we heard earlier?

Marc Udo Lettau
journalist, Bern
Switzerland

■ The question of transition from armament to disarmament has latterly preoccupied the minds of people the world over. Those who arm should have "information about the adversaries" and those who disarm should have "information about the advocates."

A new approach to disarmament does not mean simply a reduction of weapons that threaten people's lives. The basic element is the knowledge that runaway armaments will ultimately boomerang, that it is a political development of the concept "in the interest of the people" instead of "against the interest of the people."

Manuel Morales Cahala
Frunze, U.S.S.R.

■ As a Mozambican student, I want to express my approval of the work being done near Sary-Ozek. I am satisfied with the way the medium- and shorter-range missiles ere demolished there. It is the first step on the road to a world without nuclear weapons and free of enmity.

The Soviet Union was the first country to begin the scrapping of missiles, though it has been noted many a time that the United States should have taken the lead. Representatives of NATO and other organizations witnessed the initial steps to peace at Soviet firing grounds. Americans visiting Soviet ranges! A few years ago no one would have believed it possible.

I would like to see the work you have started continued by the United States with equal success. This would strengthen mankind's belief that a peaceful future is possible.

Alexander Shevchenko
Lieutenant General (Ret.),
member of the Presidium of
the Soviet War Veterans
Committee

■ Wolfgang Otto, the SS-man guilty of the murder of Ernst Thälmann, has been acquitted of the charge. This decision by a Düsseldorf court of law has triggered off a storm of indignant protests among the victims of fascism – former inmates of concentration camps, all those who experienced nazi brutalities, all honest people of the world.

As a war veteran, I also express my indignation at this disgraceful act – the exculpation of the SS murderer of Thälmann. I am sure that my feeling is shared by all Soviet war veterans and fighters against fascism. Thälmann embodied the conscience of the German working class, its courage and devotion to the ideas of proletarian internationalism.

The life and struggle of this brave man, secretly killed on orders from Hitler and Himmler at Buchenwald concentration camp on August 18, 1944, are vividly described in the recent book "Ernst Thälmann. Pages from his Life and Struggle" by doctor of history D. Davidovich. Tracing Thälmann's life the author, who has for many years studied the history of the German working-class movement, gives a fascinating portrayal of this outstanding figure, citing new archive material and the reminiscences of people who fought with him.

By acquitting the murderer, the Düsseldorf judges believed they had closed the case. A dangerous delusion! The murderer of Ernst Thälmann will be held in contempt by world public opinion.

A MATTER AT ISSUE

Adolf D. Ratzka
Stockholm, Sweden

■ The process of perestroika, particularly in the social sphere, has created an enormous interest in the West. In this connection I would like to know whether these changes also affect the living conditions of disabled Soviet citizens.

In many parts of the world, including developing countries, disabled citizens have begun to organize themselves in the Independent Living Movement and demand equal rights and equal opportunities in political, social and economic life.

Equal rights and opportunities mean the same access to education, vocational training and employment, the right to get married, bring up children and enter politics that the other citizens enjoy.

All buildings, public and residential, and transportation systems must be made accessible to disabled citizens. All the necessary devices such as wheelchairs, hearing aids and braille typewriters must be made available too. Services must be established to allow those citizens who are kept in asylums and other special institutions to live normal lives in the community.

The achievement of equal citizenship for disabled persons requires, naturally, resources and the political will to ensure equality and justice and knowledge of the necessary legal, technical, organizational and social solutions.

A disabled person myself, a researcher concerned with the living standards of disabled people, and an active member of the international Independent Living Movement, I believe in the value of the international exchange of information and experience. I would be glad if Soviet organizations of disabled persons responded to my letter. My address: The Royal Institute of Technology 100 44 Stockholm, Sweden.

GLASNOST

GLASNOST

Victor Krieger
teacher,
Djambul, U.S.S.R.

■ In issue 34/88 I read a letter from Adriana Nikolič, who suggested discussing the question of emigration from our country. It is a sensible proposal, especially as the causes of emigration are not properly treated in our media. The difficulties awaiting Soviet Germans in overcrowded immigrant camps and the poor hygienic and other conditions there are being used by the media as a weighty counterpoint against emigration. No one asks, however, why people are emigrating, what makes them take such a painful decision. Instead, the media seem to rejoice at the difficulties of Soviet Germans in the Federal Republic, against which we are apparently insured. But is there reason for that?

During the collectivization of agriculture, which was accompanied by mass violations of the law in the treatment of nationalities as well as elsewhere, some German peasants, together with Russians and people of other nationalities, left the Soviet Union. The reasons are clear. But why are people emigrating today? Isn't that the main question?

In the 71st year of Soviet government, emigration means shame for our country, a political slap in the face. Therefore one should disclose and remove the causes of this phenomenon instead of gloating over the misfortunes of emigrants.

M. Urayev
Tashauz, Turkmenia
U.S.S.R.

■ As an economic executive (I have been head of a regional printing house for some time), I carefully read articles on economic subjects. Especially relevant, in my opinion, are articles showing the backwardness of our economic management compared with that of other countries, for instance Japan (issue 36/88).

What prompted me to write to you, however, is Vitaly Ganyushkin's article "We must go all out – and a little more" (issue 36/88). I fully agree with his view regarding decisions we receive from above. There are so many of them that it is impossible to remember their numbers and titles, let alone put them into effect. They are all garnished with the trite set phrases: "to develop, strengthen, solve, achieve." But not a word about how to do that.

The author is right in saying that government decisions are long-term. The man who drew up a decision could leave the Council of Ministers office and the man appointed instead of him might not know about it. Such things did happen, for decisions are often taken on the initiative of only one person who ignores objective economic laws and merely issues orders. Such a situation can no longer be tolerated.

Vadim Prikhodko
Kiev, U.S.S.R.

■ A recent TV programme was devoted to cooperation between the Soviet and British customs services. Thanks to such cooperation a reliable barrier has been set up to international drug trafficking. It occurred to me when I was watching this programme that Soveit militia could establish direct links with Interpol. Now that we have recognized the existence of organized crime in our country, the Soveit Union must simply join this international organization.

I suggest that New Times carry a story about Interpol, its successes and problems, its rich experience in combating the mafia.

Joris Proost
Mol, Belgium

■ I am writing to you as a member of Amnesty International in Belgium. In its issue 33/88 New Times carried an appeal to the Supreme Soviet Presidium from the Public Commission for International Cooperation on Humanitarian Issues and Human Rights. It called on the Presidium to reconsider the cases of people convicted on charges of violating legislation on freedom of conscience.

I am concerned about the following matter. Late in 1986 a young man, Konstantin Kostetsky, was arrested in Klevan, Rovno Region in the Ukraine, as a conscientious objector and was sentenced to three years' imprisonment. It became clear from the evidence that he did so on religious grounds.

Under Soviet law, military service is a duty of citizens. But Amnesty International believes that Kostetsky was imprisoned for the exercise of his right to freedom of conscience, a right proclaimed in Article 18 of the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, which the Soviet government ratified.

It is not only a matter of the case of Kostetsky, though each individual deserves attention and respect. The point is how issues of this kind are settled in your country. I would like to receive the appropriate information.

AN ARTIST'S COMMENT

Drawing by Rein Laukas

PRIVATE OPINION

LADISLAV ADAMEC,

Member of the Presidium, CPCz Central Committee, Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak government

My first foreign trip as Prime Minister of the Czechoslovak government was that to the Soviet Union where I had talks with Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolai Ryzhkov. It was not by chance that I went to Moscow first. The links between our two countries go back many decades, are part of our history, and, besides, our people feel special sympathy for the U.S.S.R. We understand well what Soviet perestroika is all about. We admire the revolutionary valour with which the Soviet Union has tackled the task of correcting the mistakes of the past and giving the socialist society a new look. We are also faced with complex problem of overhauling the entire social structure in Czechoslovakia. An exchange of views on the aims, problems and successes of this effort is of mutual benefit, in my opinion.

At the present new stage of the development of socialism a more profound approach to the relations between our two countries is required. In this sphere, just as on the domestic front, we have to go over from quantity to quality, from extensiveness to intensity, from multiplicity of actions to the efficiency of every action. The Moscow talks have gone to show that our Soviet partners are of the same opinion. Therefore, let us meet oftener and do our utmost to embody this common principle in concrete agreements for the good of the citizens of our two countries.

VLADIMIR TIKHONOV,

Academician, All-Union Academy of Agricultural Sciences

The food supply of the population, the acceleration of socio-economic development and scientific and technological progress in the country's agro-industrial complex were discussed at a meeting recently sponsored by the Party's Central Committee.

For years billions of rubles have been invested in agriculture. We have erected ferroconcrete stalls for cows and calves and hundreds of huge livestock complexes. As a result, the cattle are not grazing because the pastures are not sufficient with such a concentration of stock raising.

In the United States, up to 43 per cent of a cow's ration consists of fresh pasture grass, compared with not more than 11 per cent in our country. Soviet cow normally milk for three to four years, and the yields are not high. Large fodder complexes have been set up, allegedly to ensure good milk yields, but the billions of rubles spent on them have in fact been immobilized in the form of ferroconcrete.

Big sums have also been spent on so-called land improvement. Canals have been built to take hundreds of cubic kilometres of water to the fields. This water has flown into natural reservoirs, making them impure. It has formed saline layers in the soil and created bogs.

What must now be done? I shall give my opinion in outline. It is necessary to build a new type of processing industry, oriented on small and medium-sized farms. Direct ties must be established between producers and consumers. The lease and contract system should be introduced in the countryside, and the basic provisions of the law on cooperation should be applied more widely to all enterprises in the agro-industrial complex. The money for investment in agriculture should be allocated to local Soviets, not ministries. Lastly, an end must be put to the departmental monopoly, the real enemy of scientific and technological progress in the countryside.

MOHAMMED YALA,

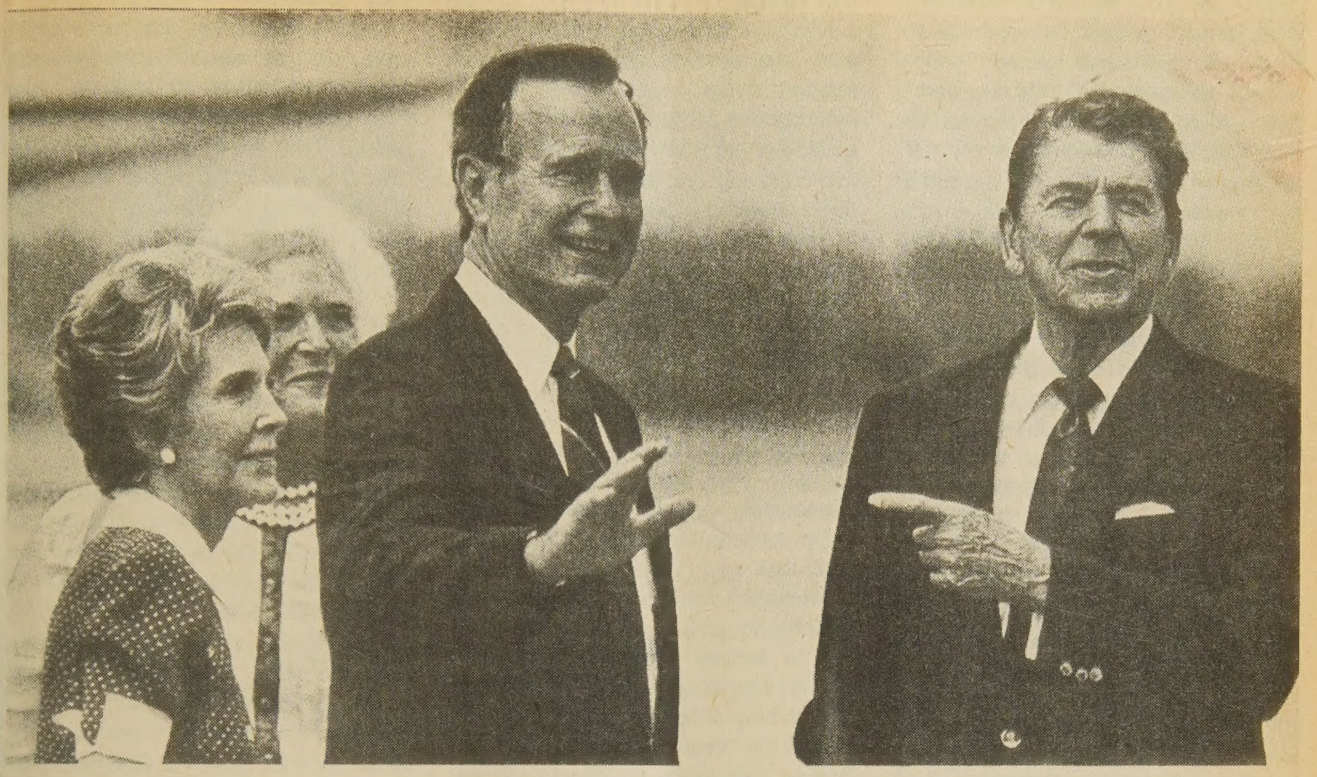
Ambassador of the Algerian People's Democratic Republic in the U.S.S.R.

For me as an Algerian, the main event of the past few days has been the November 3 referendum on the revision of the Algerian Constitution. Its results have clearly shown that the people support the economic and political reforms proposed, in particular, by Chadli Bendjedid, President of the Republic and General Secretary of the National Liberation Front.

At the first stage of the political reforms, the expression of the people's will is to be considerably reinforced by making the government accountable to the National People's Assembly and by holding referenda on all the main issues relating to the nation's future.

The people's loud and unequivocal "yes" to the reforms proclaimed by the political leadership flatly refutes the malevolent campaign being conducted by the Western media. The purpose of this campaign is to discredit the image of Algeria and its revolution, whose achievements in building socialism testify to its vitality, and the support it has constantly given to fighters for justice the world over, thereby arousing hostility on the part of imperialists and neocolonialists.

Thanks to the support of many countries, socialist and developing in particular, and of all peace- and freedom-loving peoples, Algeria will continue to act with dignity at national and international level, remaining faithful to the principles of its revolution.



Bush's first victory – and Reagan's last.

America's 41st President

From our special correspondent
Alexander Pumpyansky

The leap-year-long presidential election marathon in the U.S. ended on the night of November 8, with George Bush the winner.

At the time of writing here on the Eastern seaboard, it is midnight, or 9 p.m. California time, while in Moscow it is 8 a.m. next day, November 9. Though reporters and commentators continue to generate excitement and the last results are still coming in, the basic highlight is that George Herbert Walker Bush, 64, father of five, a politician and statesman with an extensive record, the high point of whose career so far has been eight years as Vice-President in the Reagan Administration, is to be the 41st President of the United States. Only 30 minutes ago his Democratic rival Massachusetts Governor Michael Dukakis, who turned 55 five days ago, traditionally admitted defeat in a race in which there is no runner-up, and congratulated and wished success to the winner, which he did with restrained dignity and barely concealed disappointment. Though to know how to lose is necessary, perhaps crucial, for any politician, today the ability to win takes the prizes.

The shadow of defeat haunted Dukakis throughout the last few weeks, with all public opinion polls preferring Bush. One commentator angrily noted the "tyranny of the poll," with prediction seen as providence. Indeed, the poll as it were "preelected" the Republican candidate, leaving the voter the sole option of confirming its consummate skill at foreseeing the outcome.

Still, what actually happened?

America will debate the event for a long time to come, at least up to the January inauguration ceremony. Paradoxically, however, this debate likewise occurred long before the result, outpacing the marathon itself.

All last week or more I have been busy talking to campaign organizers, politicians and newsmen from both sides, although more, perhaps, from the Democrat camp. I shall now try to single out the basic lines of reasoning, though of course everyone I talked with naturally tried to stress his or her point of view. In general, public opinion concentrated on three basic themes – the organizational aspect of the campaigns, the competition between the two rival images, and the extent to which issues were a factor.

Some like it hot

In a campaign, everything depends on how well it is organized. Most Americans believe that, including all local campaigners. As I remember, twelve years ago, when first monitoring the presiden-

tial election in close-up, I propounded what I thought a logical question. Was it sensible, I asked, to nominate for president candidates without notable records as statesmen. This was during the primaries when the name of the then little known Governor Jimmy Carter was in the news. I still remember the answer. I was told that anyone capable of sponsoring a successful national electoral campaign could cope with the presidency as well.

This belief that "it all depends on us," is reinforced when the race is a close one or swings from one side to the other. One would think a single happy move or blunder on the part of one's opponent would yield the coveted difference between victory and defeat.

Winners are never subjected to judgement. Only losers. Dukakis's strategic blunder is considered to be that crucial point made when addressing the Democratic convention last summer. It is not ideology but competence that is at issue, he said then. Dukakis has the reputation of a technocrat, capable of measuring up to the complex issues of today, and such was the arena he offered for the contest. His challenge was not taken up. Ideology is the point, Republican big guns thundered. By talking about competence, Dukakis was trying to hide his own persona, the persona, good grief, of a "liberal"!

The paradox, though, is that whereas his party sees Bush as a "moderate," Democrats regard Dukakis as a "conservative." Wars follow their own rules. The most hard-hitting are in the field of ideology, where the fanatic rather than the rational voter is addressed. There is no pluralism, only the faithful and the infidel with no holds barred in fighting the infidel.

Republican strategists turned the term "liberal" into one of abuse. Americans have long been taught to shudder at the tag of "socialist," or even more so, "communist." So don't shy away when complimented that "you don't look a Communist at all!" Today one of the new words on the suspect list is "liberalism." A "liberal" is understood as an advocate of energetic government interference in economic and social affairs, hence a person who squanders taxpayers' money, peddles permissiveness and abortion, is "soft" on crime and unpatriotically flouts American values.

Europe's liberals may well wonder at how their symbols are bludgeoned in freedom-loving America. Under the current blanket of "conservatism," liberal politicians squirm. They seek to disavow the tag and shyly substitute the nondiscredited term "progressive." Dukakis held on for a long time, losing ground, however, by virtue of the very need to justify himself which suggested that there was no smoke without a fire. Eventually campaign headquarters decided this was a losing tactic. At that point he announced he was a liberal in the tradition of Roosevelt, Truman and Kennedy. (Hail the popular, forget the unpopular!) That was better, at least more explicit, but much had already been lost.

Whatever the case, the hustings were no struggle of ideas. Rather were they a contest between tags. There was no real debate about the realities of life, only a fight between symbols. Should the Pledge of Allegiance to the Flag be mandatory at schools and offices? Though this hardly tops the list of the ordinary American's anxieties, there was a day when it leaped to the fore.

In the heat of the discussion, the problems of socio-economic affairs were crowded out by such "burning" issues as abortion and the death penalty.

This presidential campaign has come to be known as a "negative" one. It has long been proper to laud favourites to the sky. However, this time the emphasis was not so much on "selling" one's candidate, as on "murdering" one's rival. The climax to this war of attrition was a leaflet circulated in 800,000 copies.

In many American states, including Massachusetts, model prisoners are allowed to go home to their families at week-ends. Though this was practiced in the case of less "sensitive" convicts, it happened that when a man called Horton, detained on a manslaughter charge, was let out in this way, he raped a woman and killed a man. The central idea behind the leaflet, released by the Republicans was that if the voter wanted this to happen again, he should vote Dukakis.

Another leaflet accused Dukakis of having reduced Boston Bay to a heap of slime, while a third claimed he would be Israel's errand boy, as his wife, Kitty, is Jewish.

Local campaigners are held responsible, with campaign headquarters disavowing the dirtier fabrications. However, the poisoned barbs did infiltrate minds.

In short, as most people say, it was a mud-slinging campaign, though, some would disagree, claiming it was nothing out of the ordinary.

TV image

Why didn't he counterattack? Many put that question. Analyzing Republican attitudes, many Democrats censured their candidate for not wanting to descend to the same level or being unable to do so. By some quirk, the concept of fair play was transmuted into that of unfair play.

Personalities are crucial to any electoral campaign. What does this mean in this particular case? And how is it assessed? By impartially analyzing the earlier record? However, that is elusive and for the most part boring. Television has pushed other virtues to the fore. Who looks more human, more alive on the screen. Any would-be leader must "come across," capture the emotions.

After Reagan, who made politics a television art, the two candidates looked somewhat insipid. Neither could jerk a tear. Still, in the media one saw an endless ring-a-round, as to which of the two made a better impression on the voter in the umpire's seat. Thus, in one case, the Vice-President would appear much "warmer," which won him a couple of points, while Governor Dukakis appeared "constrained" and "unemotional," which meant a couple of points against. In the same way as in the usual run of TV shows, the laughter is not in response to the wit, but consists of "canned" guffaws of the kind Homer never heard. In short, the organizers of political campaigns have learned to pass off their own assessments as viewer likes and dislikes.

The public has the right to know who will govern. However, in the U.S. this unreserved democratic right produces shocking results.

The very first question one newsman put to Dukakis during the second nationwide debate was:

"Governor, if Kitty Dukakis were raped and murdered, would you demand an

irrevocable death penalty for the killer?"

Dukakis replied:

"No, I don't, Bernard, and I think you know that I've opposed the death penalty all my life. I don't see any evidence that it's a deterrent and I think there are better and more effective ways to deal with violent crime. We've done so in my own state, and that's one of the reasons why we have had the biggest drop in crime of any industrial state in America, why we have the lowest murder rate of any industrial state in America."

He then elaborated on the war against drugs in the U.S.A. noting what the Republicans had failed to do and what he would offer.

I did not attempt to analyze American reactions. I think it was appalling. Though any newsman must be quick and inquiring, and any politician skillful at explaining his point of view, that holds good only given the proper human approach. In this campaign, which highlighted personalities, there was no room for humanity.

Problems and inevitabilities

The elections were most exciting. In the spring Dukakis led the polls and his installation as the next U.S. President seemed inevitable. A mere two months later the situation had reversed, with Bush now in front. Over the last few weeks Dukakis rapidly caught up and it appeared that it would now be touch and go. Could the Democratic candidate have needed just a few more days to climax the issue? Suppose the elections had taken place not on the first Tuesday after the first Monday in November, but on the second Tuesday, or the third?

How naive. One can foresee in advance which way the wind will blow. As the marathon began, the public turned an attentive ear to the newcomer, Dukakis. At the time of the party conventions, the high point all America watches, the popularity of either candidate reaches its zenith. The Democrats had their convention first, with their candidate naturally landing in the seventh heaven of personal fame. However, when the Republicans met in August, their nominee basked in the limelight. Subsequently, provided nothing untoward intervened, the popularity curves could only level out and eventually interest might fade almost completely. Indeed, this time only slightly more than half the electorate turned out.

To tell the truth, it is hard to believe that the issue of the presidency of such a great power, upon which so much hinges in the world today, revolves on such trifles as tactics or political mudslinging. Indeed, the froth of campaign trickery and the surging tides of electoral passion conceal powerful undercurrents.

The dynamic, enterprising, restless American would appear to like change more than anything. Yet perhaps still more he craves a sense of permanence. Such are the two great passions that obsess the American alternately, or rather simultaneously, though to different degrees at different times. How did this go during the 1988 presidential election campaign? That was the basic issue. Did the American think he was in a bad way and would not keep his head above water unless budgetary priorities were drastically modified and various programmes of state regulation and social assistance galvanized? Were that so he would look with hope to the Democrats who traditionally favour change. Or did he think the better alternative was the permanence that the Republican administration had established in recent years? This time he favoured permanence.

I would put it this way: these elections were the last that Ronald Reagan won. Not in the sense that his blessing was heeded. Though the "great communicator" and creator of myths is retiring, in the eyes of most voters his legacy has proved more appealing than the hazy Democratic promises of a better future.

Reagan's two terms have been styled the time of a "conservative revolution." Its ideological concepts were unacceptable to us. However, we perceive more clearly today that this "conservative revolution" was actually a most determined attempt to restructure capitalism, to revert to classical methods of social management. These attempts have paid off, with the U.S. now having a more vigorous economy, millions of new jobs and an acceptably stabilized level of inflation. Is it for long, though?

This is the pivotal question that many are asking today. Is that state of affairs going to last? Or does crisis lurk around the corner? Even so, has not the present state of well-being been bought at a price that future generations will have to pay? The thousand-billion-dollar internal debt evokes nightmarish premonitions. So too does the fact that in the outside world America is no longer a creditor but a debtor, that foreign rivals are competing successfully with U.S. business even on its home ground. And that the "Made in Japan" label has already given the American an inferiority complex. Shopping the other day I was amazed to see placard saying: "Thank you for buying American."

As one person I talked to put it, at the hustings the very real, basic issues were "swept under the carpet." What will be done about them tomorrow?

And what about the problems of peace?

Though there was much that was superfluous in this year's "negative" presidential campaign, one old eyesore, that of "the Soviet threat," was no longer there. This time no accusations were trotted out of being "soft on communism." What has taken place in the Soviet Union and between the two great powers over the past two years, with Reagan appearing on Red Square and signing the first anti-missile treaty, has definitely improved the climate. However, is this only the beginning? Or is it all there is to it?

"Peace through force..." Assurances that all the beneficial changes in the world, even inside the Soviet Union, have only come about because America exerted pressure and had the wherewithal to do so. Assurances that American weapon modernization would best serve arms control. It is not easy to fathom why election campaigns need such banalities. However, the election campaign is over. What will the coming Bush administration adopt as the basis for its foreign policy? Propaganda and shopworn jokes? Or the challenges of the new realities, the achievements of the new thinking?

Bush will have a hard time after Reagan goes. Because the "miracles" of Reaganomics seem played out and the time has come to pay the bill. Because at the top of the world agenda is the truly historic objective of at long last burying the hatchet of the cold war, which has robbed the human race of forty years, and, according to Carl Sagan, the truly astronomical figure of 10,000 billion dollars. Or will this blunt instrument be tossed into the 21st century as a futuristic star-wars super-computer?

George Bush now has his easiest victory behind him.

NEW YORK

Photo from U.S. News and World Report

QUOTATIONS

Wojciech Jaruzelski,
Chairman of the Council of State, Poland

■ We are, of course, well aware of the interest taken by the West in certain persons and groups in Poland. If you will excuse my sarcastic comment, it sometimes seems surrealistic when politicians, who could hardly be called friendly towards trade unions in their own countries, are demanding that Poland grant to trade unions rights which they fought against in their country.

Moreover, I want to explain that the "socio-political map" of contemporary Poland is far more complicated than the one which is frequently described in Western media. We are striving to shape a new coalition model of government – together with the United Peasants' Party and the Democratic Party – each of them being a genuine political force. We are heading for a further expansion of the coalition to include the opposition forces.

As regards the former Solidarity... we recognized the movement as one of the important manifestations of the justified dissatisfaction of the working class. We wanted to cooperate loyally with it. We did not hide our concern when it started to transform itself – due to a group of professional anti-Communists – into an anti-state organization...

After the introduction of martial law, we have frequently emphasized that fundamental provisions of the Solidarity movement are close to us. However, we consistently rejected, and we continue to reject, everything which was implanted into the movement in order to use it as a Trojan horse by professional anti-Communists...

We in Poland also have no ground to trust those activists of the former Solidarity who boast of their independence and yet take three million dollars from the U.S. federal budget each year.

"Don't you read your newspapers? Put your hands down: this is an on-the-spot inspection team, not a landing party!"

Drawing by Vsevolod Arsenyev

François Mitterrand,
President of the French Republic

■ France is a free nation and intends itself to determine the way to its future. It wants to be able to defend itself against any aggression. Therefore the prime object of our defence will be to maintain our identity and our independence. Let me add that this independence can only be assured if, in order to protect our vital interests, we preserve our autonomy in decision-making.

Our autonomy in decision-making is evident, in particular, with regard to the integrated military bodies of NATO. Let us stop any speculation on this subject. For us, there can be no question of changing our status.

George Shultz,
Secretary of State, U.S.A.

■ At the Strategic Arms Reduction Talks (START), we are pursuing the course of reducing nuclear arms. We are far down the road towards completing a treaty calling for 50-per cent reductions in strategic offensive arms. Some key issues remain unresolved, but the outlines of the agreement and many of its details are already in place, providing a sound basis for completing the treaty early in the next administration.

START will contribute to the policy of deterrence. Until an alternative system of security becomes feasible, we must continue to rely on nuclear deterrence. For the foreseeable future, our goal must be to strengthen nuclear deterrence and make it work at lower, safer force levels...

While START requires substantial reductions in U.S. and Soviet forces, including a 50-per cent reduction of their heavy ICBMs, our programmes to enhance the survivability and effectiveness of our ICBMs, submarine-launched ballistic missiles and bombers can go forward.

View from New Delhi

Why is the Krasnoyarsk Package so interesting? Guns and the frontier question. Non-violence is not a Utopia. The Indira Gandhi Prize.

Writers and academics have written many volumes about India's foreign policy, Soviet-Indian cooperation and coordinated effort in the sphere of international relations. Therefore the present authors cannot possibly carry out a comprehensive analysis in a short article. These notes are the result of interviews with Indian political scientists, diplomats and journalists on only some of the problems that are of concern to New Delhi.

Invitation to engage in dialogue

The New Delhi Institute for Defence Studies and Analyses is well known in many countries. We wanted to know the opinion of Indian political scientists on Soviet policies in the Asian-Pacific region, their appraisal of the situation in this part of the world and prospects for its further development, and their view on the latest Soviet initiatives advanced in Krasnoyarsk.

To start with, the talk with Raja Mohan and Narindra Gupta, leading researchers at the Institute, took a somewhat unexpected turn.

"Some Indian political scientists," said Raja Mohan, "have tended to accuse Mikhail Gorbachev of 'Eurocentrism' and concentrating on Soviet-American relations. It was obvious that Mr Gorbachev would pay special attention to the U.S.S.R. relations with the United States and Western Europe. However, when Rajiv Gandhi visited Moscow in 1985, the Soviet leader set out his views on the problems of security in our region too."

"As far as we know, some papers promptly said that the speech put forward a proposal for a collective security system for Asia, an idea that had supposedly discredited itself."

Yes, indeed, this view was held in some quarters, but only briefly. It is a fact that Gorbachev's concept differed from the earlier pattern, which was only a slightly disguised attempt to reduce the influence of the U.S. and China in Asia. As we see it, Moscow now wants to get both these states to help establish and promote a new international order in Asia. This is borne out by the speech in Vladivostok and the interview for the Indonesian paper Merdeka. These statements are an invitation to engage in dialogue and jointly work out new political structures for Asia."

The view of the Indian experts on the interview to Merdeka is, admittedly, interesting.

"We immediately sensed," said Raja Mohan, "that the time chosen for the interview, namely the summer of 1987, was not accidental. Vigorous efforts were then being made to work out a Soviet-American missile treaty. The Soviet leader said the U.S.S.R. was willing to eliminate intermediate-range missiles in Asia. However, the way he put it, the proposal was intended to meet the interests of the states of the region."

Expressing a high opinion of the Treaty of Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles, the Indian experts observed: "Though people the world over regard it as mainly a 'European' treaty, it has a direct bearing on Asia too, because the U.S.S.R. has pledged to eliminate this class of missiles here."

Although the problem of intermediate-range missiles still exists in Asia, Narindra Gupta said: "China has missiles of a similar class. And not just China. Saudi Arabia has such missiles. Israel is manufacturing them. And Pakistan, possibly, has them, too. South Korea and Taiwan are working on missile programmes of their own."

The Indian experts therefore believe that it is necessary to carry on the dialogue on intermediate-range missiles, but on a multilateral basis. The main point is that the Soviet-American treaty has shown that, though the path to nuclear disarmament is a thorny one, the aim is entirely practicable.

"Though all seven proposals Gorbachev made in Krasnoyarsk are unquestionably interesting," Raja Mohan went on to say, "I would, perhaps, single out two of them. Namely, the one on no further buildup of naval forces in the Asian-Pacific region and that on freezing the nuclear weapons in it."

The Indian analysts focussed attention on the following important point. They said that when in the past the U.S.S.R. proposed to come to an agreement on a nuclear arms freeze, it would address its appeal principally to the U.S. Now, the Soviet Union has actually undertaken a unilateral pledge not to increase the quantity of all types of nuclear weapon and has urged not only the United States, but also the other nuclear powers, to follow suit. This concerns France, China and Britain (true, the latter's nuclear presence in the Asian-Pacific region is minimal). They pointed out that this was a most favourable and important step which is of special interest to India. The Chinese nuclear potential is a particularly important factor, which New Delhi must always consider in connection with its security.

In the opinion of the Indian experts, the situation in the Asian-Pacific region on the whole is, beyond doubt, beginning to improve.

"However," Raja Mohan went on, "it is necessary to display a realistic approach in appraising prospects. It will take a lot of time and effort to create a real security system for Asia. In Asia, the situation is much more complicated than in Europe where the frontiers that took shape after the second world war are not subject to revision. The enforcement of this stipulation at Helsinki actually initiated the European process. As Gorbachev has prop-

osed, it is necessary to create a mechanism for negotiating questions bearing on security in our region. I'd like to note here that the idea of building such a mechanism merits attention in itself. However, the speaker suggested that the discussion could be started by the U.S.S.R., the U.S. and China. We think the matter should not be confined to the permanent members of the U.N. Security Council. We ought to be aware of the fact that this is a difficult task which can be accomplished only given great diplomatic skill and the participation of all the countries of the region because many of them, the largest ones included, are in conflict over border issues."

Signs of rapprochement between two giants

In analyzing the territorial dispute between India and China, which has complicated their relations over a period of many years, the Indian periodical The Week recently wrote: "The border issue, however, cannot be solved by the gun. The war of 1962 did not settle it, it only hardened it. The solution should come through diplomacy." Even after New Delhi and Peking reestablished diplomatic relations, the contacts between them made sluggish and stunted progress. The Week further writes that now, "after three decades of tension, the two giants of Asia are coming closer cautiously, slowly but very surely."

Commenting on this process, a foreign ministry official said: "The development of our relations with China is now characterized by positive changes. We are aware that our countries are displaying different approaches to a whole range of problems. But we have invariably pointed out that this should not prevent an improvement in the general climate of relations between our countries. And we have responded to Peking's desire for the activization of humanitarian contacts. We are trying to develop contacts at all levels. We are encouraging meetings between representatives of the opposition and Chinese spokesmen."

Before our interview at the Ministry for Foreign Affairs of India, a delegation returned from Peking. It was headed by K.P.S. Menon, an experienced diplomat and secretary for foreign relations at the Ministry. The delegation had been engaged in preparations for Rajiv Gandhi's visit to China, which is expected to take place in December. Let us hope that nothing will interfere with the visit by the Indian Prime Minister – the first after a nearly 30-year interval.

New Delhi realizes that this visit will not help solve all problems. But it is believed that it may be an important step in improving relations with Peking. The commentators drew attention to a recent statement by Rajiv Gandhi. He said that India wants peace on its frontiers and is willing to reach a peaceful solution of the frontier issues with China through talks, with due account of the interests of both parties. Incidentally, while in Peking, K.P.S. Menon denied the report that Delhi allegedly was not going to discuss the border issue because it sought to bring the relations back to normal. On the contrary, the Indian diplomat said, it would be silly of India and China to lag behind the trend for dialogue in the world, be it in Afghanistan, Kampuchea or Angola. The value of compromises in politics has always been appreciated. And this is, perhaps, particularly true today, especially as Indian-Chinese relations are of great importance to the whole of Asia.

And what is New Delhi's opinion of the rapprochement between Moscow and Peking? Are apprehensions that this could have a negative effect on Soviet-Indian relations justified? Our interviewees said that India has always favoured good-neighbourly relations both with China and the Soviet Union. Jawaharlal Nehru made a point of this in 1946 in a speech he made on India's foreign policy. That an improvement in Soviet-Chinese relations could have a negative effect on Soviet-Indian relations is totally groundless. On the contrary, if these three powers establish good contacts, the region and the world will only stand to gain. The developments over the last few years inspire hope in this respect.

No changes so far

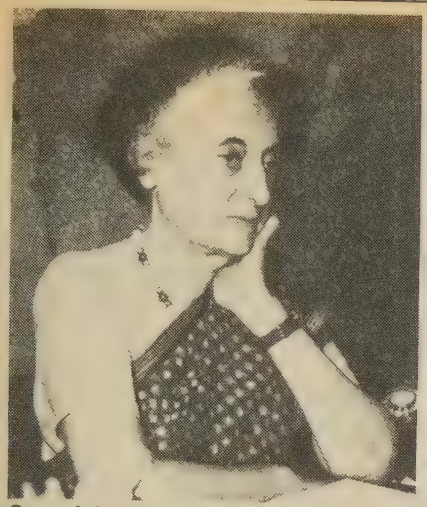
It is true that the New Delhi-Peking dialogue inspires optimism. In contrast, relations with Pakistan are still very tense.

India has made and is continuing to make strenuous efforts to settle all the disputes so, as Indian officials see it, it is up to Islamabad to make a step towards improved relations. The foreign ministry officials we interviewed said:

"Unfortunately, there has been no adequate response. In the effort to solve its problems Pakistan has always sought to look beyond the region. We have never questioned the right of any country to have all it needs for defence. But we see that the level and quantity of armaments considerably exceed its defence needs, so we naturally voice our concern. We are particularly disturbed by the fact that Pakistan is building up its military potential with the aid of a great power. We know for certain that it is working on a nuclear programme of its own, and many international experts share our view. We cannot feign indifference, when Pakistan renders support to extremist elements attacking India's unity and territorial integrity, as in the case of Pendjab and the state of Jammu and Kashmir. These are dangerous actions designed to destabilize the situation in India and interfere with the solution of our internal problems. Therefore, regrettably, there are no changes so far."

When relations between New Delhi and Islamabad were discussed, somebody said that India should not undertake any steps, even through the U.N., in pursuit of an early normalization of the situation in Afghanistan. Those who support this view believe that, if New Delhi remains aloof, it will help resolve the contradictions with Pakistan, as the latter will, perhaps, be more willing to reach agreement. However, many people hold a different view. They maintain that constructive efforts by India, Pakistan and Iran will make it possible to unravel the knot in Afghanistan. And this will help stabilize the situation in the region.

Glacier Siachen witnessed clashes between Indian and Pakistani troops. Talks on settling the conflict are under way, but no noticeable progress has yet been made



One of the last pictures of Indira Gandhi taken shortly before her assassination

Different viewpoints are useful

One Indian journalist asked us why the Soviet press always writes about Soviet-Indian cooperation in complimentary terms. He observed that one would think there were no problems or differences between our two countries.

His comment, we admitted, was justified. We said this was due to an "inertia of style" that our commentators on international affairs found it difficult to overcome. It is true that there are problems in the sphere of trade and economic ties, and that these are typical of our relations with a number of countries, and not just with India.

Sometimes the views of our countries fail to coincide on certain questions bearing on international politics. New Delhi maintains, for example, that the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons is far from perfect and that it does not ensure equality. That is why India has not become a signatory to it. India is proposing that it be revised, and a new treaty elaborated by 1995, when the decision will be taken of whether the treaty be prolongated or become termless. Another example: though India favours complete nuclear disarmament, it believes that the creation of nuclear-free zones will do little to help remove the nuclear threat.

To put it succinctly, the cases when our views fail to coincide are few in number.

We thought that these cases do perhaps show how close the views of our two countries really are on the cardinal problems. They also reveal that the U.S.S.R. and India cooperate and support each other in pursuit of vital goals in world politics.

More than that, J. Mehta, an eminent Indian diplomat, says that the new thinking the Soviet Union has been promoting in the sphere of international relations largely coincides with the principles formulated by Jawaharlal Nehru 40 years ago. He had an aversion to the use of armed force. He strongly favoured the solution of disputes solely by peaceful, political and diplomatic means.

It would be appropriate to recall that many great Indian thinkers preached non-violence. And the great Mahatma Gandhi elevated it to the level of a political doctrine. Now non-violence in politics, a world free of fear of nuclear war, the equality and free development of peoples constitute the principles of the Delhi Declaration signed two years ago by Mikhail Gorbachev and Rajiv Gandhi. This document embodies the best of the moral and ethical heritage of both countries and their peoples. Many contemporary politicians and statesmen have repeatedly referred to morals and ethics. But the Delhi Declaration was the first document to proclaim these values an inalienable part of politics. Herein lies its permanent importance as a manifestation of new political thinking.

The Rajiv Gandhi plan

The plan for nuclear disarmament submitted by the Indian Prime Minister to a special U.N. General Assembly session on disarmament last summer stems from new political thinking. Calculated for the period ending in 2010, it has been worked out in detail. It provides for the gradual discontinuation of the manufacture of nuclear arms and their components. It further envisages the elaboration of a new treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons and the declaration of a moratorium on nuclear weapon tests, to be backed up by an appropriate agreement. The plan also provides for the establishment of reliable supervision over developments in the latest technologies that could be used for military purposes and, of course, for guarantees against the extension of the arms race to outer space. One of the main distinguishing features of the plan is that nuclear disarmament should not be limited to the two great powers alone. All countries that possess nuclear weapons should actively engage in the talks.

It would be fair to say that in many respects the Rajiv Gandhi plan accords with the Soviet concept of a nuclear-free world. Many countries, including the U.S.S.R., supported it in the U.N., where it was circulated as an official document for discussion by the world community.

Commenting on it, an Indian newspaper wrote that only a year ago Mr Gandhi's proposals might have been considered utopian. Today, however, they do not appear in the least unrealistic.

Yes, indeed, less than three years ago the Gorbachev plan was regarded as impracticable. But it is clear today that the most daring ideas might well spark off an explosion that will destroy nuclear missiles at their testing grounds.

A prize the whole people back

We could not fail to visit 1, Akbar Road. This used to be Mrs Indira Gandhi's office. It was here that she received politicians, scientists, journalists and thousands of ordinary Indians. Not far from this bungalow immersed in greenery the bullets of the assassins reached her.

The spot where she fell bears the contour of her body in white paint. Guards are now posted there. It seems as if it has just happened. Mr H. Sharada Prasad explained to us: "Peter Ustinov, his TV cameramen and myself were waiting for Mrs Gandhi by that tree over there. He was to interview her. When we heard the crackling sounds, we did not realize that shots were being fired. When we ran to her, we saw her lying there."

Mr H. Sharada Prasad was the Prime Minister's advisor. He is now custodian of the Indira Gandhi Memorial Museum. Mr H. Sharada Prasad went on to say:

"We are collecting for the museum all that is linked with the memory of the late Mrs Gandhi: letters, personal effects, etc. We have issued films, books and albums about her."

Mr H. Sharada Prasad is also secretary of the Indira Gandhi Memorial Trust established by the Indian government in 1985. He said:

"You are aware that Mrs Gandhi put a lot of effort into the fight for peace and disarmament. She was an ardent fighter for humanism and non-violence in relations between countries and peoples. And it is by right that the Indian government has established a trust in her honour. Its No. 1 mission is to carry on the cause of Mrs Gandhi, to support and promote the ideas of peace and progress which were dear to her. The purpose of the trust is to improve the Indian people's welfare standard, to use the achievements of science and technology while protecting the environment, preserving and augmenting cultural heritage and folk traditions. And of course, Mr H. Sharada Prasad added, to seek harmony and good will in international affairs. The trust's authoritative jury awards an Indira Gandhi Prize every year for an outstanding contribution to peace, disarmament and development. It would be fair to say that the whole of the Indian people back this prize. Last year it was awarded to General Secretary Mikhail Gorbachev. The prize is to be presented in our capital. We look forward to an early meeting with Mr Gorbachev to present him with this well-deserved award."

Sergei Irodov and Dmitry Pogorzhelsky,
our special correspondents

NEW DELHI

Photos from Time magazine (U.S.A.)

Further to the right?

Alexander Zotov

Israel before and after November 1

In the November 1 election to the Knesset, Israelis had to vote for one of 27 party tickets. Voters included the 54,000 settlers in the occupied territories and the several thousand officers and men who are trying to put down the Palestinian uprising there.

The contest between the right-wing Zionist bloc, Likud, and the moderate Israel Labour Party was more of a provincial show than a stirring drama. The main issue facing Israelis is dramatic indeed – whether peace and good-neighbourly relations will prevail in the Middle East. "Peace will have a real chance of success if I win and my party forms a new government," Labour Party leader Shimon Peres said, proclaiming his readiness to discuss a political settlement with the Arabs (excluding the Palestine Liberation Organization) at an international conference on the Middle East.

As the Likud's partner in the "government of national unity," the Labout Party did not, however, go beyond fine words about the need for Israel finally to take the road to peace with the Arabs and prevent the country sliding further to the right into the quagmire of militant chauvinism. In fact, the Labour Party is equally responsible for the escalation of the repression against the Palestinians, the use of plastic bullets, unlawful deportations, mass arrests of Palestinians and concentration camps.

Present Defence Minister Itzhak Rabin, the second most influential man in the party, has shown that he differs little from Likud extremists in the brutal treatment of Palestinians. Peres and his colleagues were unable to build a convincing image of Labour as a "party of peace," even though the election campaign was held at a time when the search for a peaceful settlement of the conflict had increased worldwide, in the Arab states and the Palestine Liberation Organization included.

As for Itzhak Shamir and the Likud bloc he leads, there were far fewer discrepancies between their words and their actions. Shamir and his colleagues did not bypass the subject of peace and negotiations with the Arabs, but there was no talk of a compromise. Likud seeks to put down the Palestinian revolt, uncover and neutalize Palestinian leaders and undermine PLO influence and perpetuate Israeli control over the whole of Palestine. It is prepared to discuss only the question of granting some administrative freedoms to the Palestinian population.

The weak point for Likud bloc is the demographic factor, that is, the danger of Israel developing from "a state for Jews" into a state of two nations where the Palestinian Arabs, now a minority, could become the majority within the space of a couple of generations, thanks to their high birth rate. The ultra-right see a solution to this problem in driving Palestinians out of "Greater Israel" – into Jordan or other Arab countries to which nearly two million Palestinian refugees have already settled.

Among the ultra-rights, who seek to take full advantage of the growth of anti-Arab feeling in connection with the Palestinian uprising, there are such obviously fascist forces as the Kah Party, led by Meir Kahane. Shortly before the election, the Supreme Court approved the decision forbidding the Kah, as an openly racist party, to put forward its candidates. But the Kah is not alone. Akin to it are the Tehiya and Tzomet parties, and the newly founded Moledet Party.

On the other hand, the recent period has seen unprecedentedly increased activity by left-wing democratic forces advocating a radical peaceful settlement on the basis of a just agreement between the Israelis and the Palestinians as equal parties. The most consistent and definite stand is that of the Democratic Front for Peace and Equality, the backbone of which is the Communist Party.

Neither party can boast of a clear victory, the two main alliances having won an almost equal number of seats – the Likud 40 and Labour, 39. Both have also lost several seats. Nevertheless, the mood was jubilant in the Likud headquarters on the night of November I. It seemed Likud was satisfied with even a small majority over Labour, as seven parliamentary seats had been secured by ultra-right-wing parties, Likud's potential allies.

The religious parties registered unexpected success. Particularly good results were achieved by the ultra-orthodox parties, which are agitating more for the "purity" of Judaism than for political ideals, Zionist included. Likud would like to find partners for a government coalition among these forces too. The idea of reestablishing a government of "national unity" is now clearly out of the question.

In his attempts to knock together a right-wing bloc, Itzhak Shamir is faced with a choice: either to hand over an inordinately big slice of the government pie to his potential partners, or form a minority government with the prospect of receiving a vote of no confidence in the Knesset and, simultaneously, a free hand till the next election.

The post-election fuss is only beginning. The November 1 poll has not made the political situation much clearer, and prospects for a just and peaceful settlement of the Arab-Israeli conflict have remained as bleak as before.

Time to move towards a settlement

The situation calls for concrete action to implement the Guatemala agreements

The meeting of the presidents of five Central American countries – Guatemala, Honduras, Costa Rica, Nicaragua and El Salvador – to discuss the implementation of the Guatemala agreements aimed at the settlement of the situation in the region has again been postponed, this time presumably until the end of November.

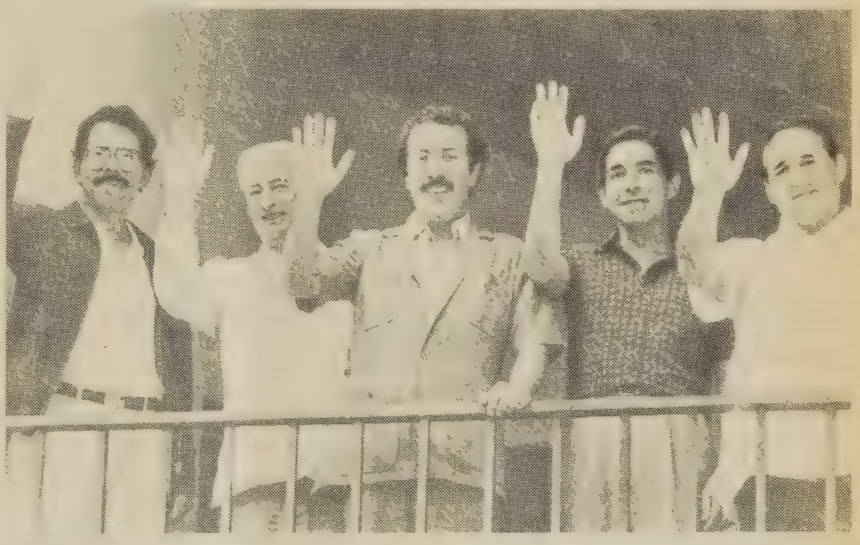
The summit was scheduled to be held in San Salvador in mid-November. The preparations were in full swing when suddenly the Salvadoran Minister of Foreign Affairs Ricardo Acevedo announced that the forum was to be put off. Nicaragua at once voiced its disagreement with the delay and the Guatemalan government offered to host the meeting in Guatemala.

The cards seem to be stacked against this meeting. It was originally proposed to hold it in August to mark the first anniversary of the signing of the agreements in Guatemala in 1987, but it was postponed. The Guatemalan President Vinicio Cerezo went to the trouble of visiting the capitals of the other Central American countries to agree on a new date. But that date too did not suit the Salvadoran regime.

The reason given was that the Salvadoran government could not cope with the holding in close succession of two such important forums as the meeting of the presidents and the 18th session of the General Assembly of the Organization of American States.

That sounds plausible enough. The Salvadoran authorities have their hands full as it is, apart from which the Treasury is running low. It is noteworthy, however, that the first postponement came shortly after U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz's tour of Central America. Then the Salvadoran Foreign Office pleaded the ill health of President Jose Napoleon Duarte. Duarte's condition can only evoke sympathy, but then his doctors had made no secret of the gravity of his illness before that. The real reason thus was clearly different. This has been confirmed by the latest postponement of the summit. And, as observers have been quick to note, the last announcement by the Salvadoran minister came within 24 hours of the visit to San Salvador of the U.S. President's special envoy to Central America, Morris Busby.

Why is the U.S. putting the brakes on the implementation of the Guatemala agreements? Would it not be in the interests of the U.S. to have peace in Central America, peace that would give it at least a safe place to invest its capital? Whenever I have put this question to West European and American experts I have received a wide variety of explanations. But none of them fitted into the picture as we saw it until quite recently.



Presidents Daniel Ortega of Nicaragua, Jose Simon Azcona of Honduras, Mario Vinicio Cerezo of Guatemala, Oscar Arias of Costa Rica and Jose Napoleon Duarte of El Salvador. The photo was taken after the signing of the Guatemala Agreement in August 1987. Their optimism has proved premature...

Washington does need peace in Central America. The question is what kind of peace, on what conditions? The answer is: the U.S. wants the surrender of the Sandinists to the contras, the recasting of the political system in Nicaragua along lines laid down by Washington, and in El Salvador, the maximum of concessions of a fundamental order to the Duarte regime on the part of the insurgents. But none of this is called for by the Guatemala agreements. That is precisely why they do not suit Washington.

"Let reason prevail over malice"

This is the leitmotif of the Guatemala Agreement. I have before me an attractively-bound copy of the document presented to me by one of those who made last year's meeting of the five presidents possible. It contains many provisions projected at "establishing a durable and lasting peace in Central America." The basic points are these:

– national reconciliation presupposing dialogue between opposing political forces, formation of committees of national reconciliation, and an amnesty;

– a cease-fire;

– further democratization in the countries of the region, including freedom of the mass media with free access to them for different ideological groups, political pluralism;

– annulment of martial law and states of emergency wherever they exist;

– free elections to the Central American Parliament and to the national parliaments, presidential elections included;

– discontinuation of all aid to irregular military units and insurgents operating in countries of the region (this point was adopted with numerous reservations acceptable to all parties to the agreement. – **Y.K.**);

– the commitment not to allow the respective national territories to be used by "persons bent on destabilizing governments in Central America."

The text of the Agreement thus clearly

bears the stamp of compromise. This has both negative and positive implications.

The signing of the Guatemala Agreement was undoubtedly of historic significance. It opened the way to the peaceful settlement of an extremely complicated conflict. Having embarked on this road it is essential to press forward, step by step, searching for short cuts to the goal. One of the positive aspects of the agreement is that for the first time understanding was reached in spite of pressure from without. "Central America for the Central Americans" might well be its motto.

At the same time, the vagueness of some of the formulations leaves loopholes for each of the sides to suspect and accuse another of violations of the Agreement, as indeed is happening. All the more so, since none of the signatories has, in my opinion, fully lived up to its provisions.

Nicaraguan peasants – victims of a contra attack

Reprinted from Stern (F.R.G.)

A start has to be made

Translating the Agreement into practice has proved more difficult than drafting and signing it. Not long ago U.N. Secretary-General Perez de Cuellar pointed in a report to the General Assembly to the setbacks of the recent period in the realization of peace plans for Central America. These setbacks stand out in even bolder relief against the background of the settlement of other regional conflicts, he said, referring to the progress made in settling the conflicts around Afghanistan, Kampuchea and southern Africa.

The U.N. Secretary-General observed that owing to the lack of unity among the governments of the five Central American countries it had not been possible to create the practical mechanism for on-the-spot verification of the fulfilment of commitments relating to security, in particular, to the cease-fire, ruling out the use of their territories for attack on other countries, and discontinuation of aid to irregular forces and rebel movements. He urged the governments of the countries in the region to intensify efforts to overcome the obstacles to the realization of the Agreement, and other countries, to contribute to these efforts and to refrain from any action that could lessen their effectiveness.

There are ample grounds for concern. Notwithstanding the damage caused Nicaragua by hurricane Joan, the contras have not ceased their terrorist operations. Take if only the following relevant facts. No sooner had the fury of the elements subsided than the contras added to their long record of crimes. In Chontales Department they opened fire at two trucks with food supplies for peasants left homeless by the hurricane. One man was killed and two others seriously wounded. In the vicinity of San Juan del Rio Coco in the north the contras attacked a truck carrying civilians. Nine persons were killed and three seriously wounded. Gunmen from rebel detachments continue their porovocative assaults on the positions of the Sandinist People's Army although the latter strictly observes its unilateral moratorium on offensive operations against the armed counterrevolutionaries.

On the Nicaragua-Honduras frontier too the situation is disquieting. According to the latest report released by the Nicaraguan Ministry of Defence, Hunduran army units continue to shell economic and military targets on Nicaraguan territory.

The process of national reconciliation in Nicaragua is virtually at a standstill. Through the fault of the contras their contacts with the Sandinist government have been broken off. In El Salvador the Duarte regime remains deaf to the insurgents' calls for a search for ways to achieve a peaceful settlement of the internal conflict. The question of elections to the Central American Parliament still hangs in the air. Only the parliaments of Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua have taken relevant decisions on this score. In Costa Rica the debate is still going on. And the situation is even worse in El Salvador where the right-wing Nationalist Republican Alliance (ARENA), which is categorically opposed to the creation of a regional forum of legislators, took the upper hand at the parliamentary elections last spring.

It cannot be said, however, that the problem of a settlement has been totally shelved. From time to time some ideas for practical steps in this direction do crop up. Honduras, for instance, has proposed that an international peacekeeping force made up of Spanish, Canadian and West German contingents be stationed in the region. This idea was welcomed by Nicaragua which suggested including in the force one of the Contadora or Contadora Support Group countries. El Salvador, too, has declared in favour of the proposal. Guatemala and Costa Rica are opposed, mainly because the Honduran government's proposal involves moving the contra bases from Honduras to these two countries. Neither the one nor the other has any use for these troublesome uninvited guests.

While the war of words goes on, the matter of a practical settlement marks time. A Central American meeting at summit level could get it off the ground.

Yuri Kudimov,

our own correspondent

MANAGUA

Towards perpetual peace

Gennady Batygin, Ph.D.

At his recent meeting with West German journalists, Mikhail Gorbachev spoke of "perpetual peace" – the concept elaborated by the German philosopher Immanuel Kant.

The treatise "Perpetual Peace" is not, of course, as significant as the "Critique of Pure Reason," but the history of philosophy knows many instances when a seemingly insignificant idea found a great future.

In his projected treaty of everlasting peace, Kant laid down several principles which today can be called the postulates of the new political thinking. Among them are the following provisions: "standing armies shall in time be totally abolished," "no state shall by force interfere with either the constitution or government of another state," "a state shall not, during war, admit of hostilities of a nature that would render reciprocal confidence in a succeeding peace impossible: such as employing *assassins, poisoners, violation of capitulations, secret instigation to rebellion,* etc."

The sage of Königsberg reminisced that once in a Dutch tavern he had seen a picture of a churchyard. The gloomy landscape bore an inscription: "Perpetual Peace."

The 20th century is ending. Together with Kant, though without irony, we can speak of a possible perpetual peace at a colossal graveyard the Earth may become. However, in those days Europe relied on strength, and nobody took the eccentricities of the theorizing philosopher seriously. Kant knew this all too well when he wrote: "But if in consequence of enlightened principles of politics the glory of the state is placed in its continual aggrandizement, by whatever means, my reasoning will then appear mere scholastic pedantry."

As for us, our recent attitudes to Kant's words were not even scholastic. Such ideas we dubbed "rotten bourgeois liberalism," inherently alien to the goals of the dictatorship of the proletariat. The socialist bloc lived in a state of high tension with the perpetual fear of capitalist intrigues; even peaceful coexistence was viewed as a form of class struggle.

How can we achieve confidence between states and overcome the cult of violence? The answer is: every state should turn to a republican form of government based on freedom and the equality of all citizens before the law. This is the way to perpetual peace. Kant's reasoning is simple: "The assent of every citizen is necessary to decide the question, 'whether war shall be declared or not.' They will certainly beware of plunging into an enterprise so hazardous."

Since the time of Plato, the history of political doctrines has known that foreign policy of a state is a continuation of its policies at home. On the world arena, a despotic state will inevitably become an aggressor and an international gendarme. In a state where there is no personal civic responsibility, where citizens are just obedient cogs in the regime's machine, the question of war is usually decided on without much doubt.

Immanuel Kant:
The assent of every citizen is necessary to decide the question, 'whether war shall be declared or not.' They will certainly beware of plunging into an enterprise so hazardous.

"Perpetual Peace" is a small treatise, written by a man who had never handled arms or known violence. However, its several dozens pages contain so much that is as if the philosopher foresaw the disasters of the 20th century and the threat of the extermination of mankind in a nuclear war. "A war, therefore, which might cause the destruction of both parties at once, together with annihilation of every right, would permit the conclusion of a perpetual peace only upon the vast burial-ground of the human species. This kind of war must therefore be absolutely interdicted, as well as the means that lead thereto," is the main conclusion of Kant's work.

Perpetual peace needs more than hollow declarations. We must create a law-governed social system under which a man obeys laws he himself recognizes as just. This is genuine civic liberty – the first prerequisite of a free state and a free international community based on non-violence and mutuallly beneficial trade.

Today, when military and political confrontation still exists, the idea of perpetual peace seems remote, though not fantastic; the foundation of the union of peace is laid in the ethics of the world community. Morality and not force is gradually becoming the decisive factor in international relations. "Honesty is better than all policy," was also Kant's idea.

It often happens that philosophic ideas are accepted until it comes to practical issues. In one such issue the Königsberg philosopher displayed the utter lack of a sense of reality. He risked proposing a secret appendix to the treaty on perpetual peace: philosophers must secretly participate in political discussions and decision-making. He naively thought that politicians, like ordinary people, did not consider themselves phiolosophers. Kant used a very odd argument maintaining that a ruler needs a philosopher: "The enjoyment of power inevitably corrupts the judgement of reason and perverts its liberty." If Kant is right, then the perverted mind of the ruler would not be much inclined to philosophy and an alliance of philosophy with politics would seem somewhat improbable.

Of course Kant was indulging in wishful thinking. He also had a cursory judgement of philosophers, though one thing can be said in his defence: scholars at Königsberg University in Kant's time were different from modern philosophers. In the treatise we come across a meaningful remark: "The class of philosophers incapable by its nature... to be instrumental to the interested views of leaders and clubbists runs not the risk of being suspected of *propagandism.*" Any philosopher, including those from Kaliningrad (formerly Königsberg) University, today would only smile at the naivety of the 18th-century thinker.

But the naivety of genuine philosophy will continue to reveal its infinite profundity to many generations of people. Perhaps today we are only approaching a true understanding of the vital importance of Kant's ultimate imperative: "**Act so that the maxim of your will becomes a principle of universal law.**"

A thorny path to peace

Our own correspondent Nikolai Reshetnyak reports from Angola's border regions

"We have to get back to Luanda before sunset," warned General Chernykh. "A plane with its lights on is a good target for the UNITA bandits, who have Stinger anti-aircraft missiles."

We are heading for Lubango – the administrative centre of Huila Province, where the headquarters of the Southern Front is located. The front has the important mission of repelling external aggression by South Africa and countering the units of the National Union for the Total Independence of Angola (UNITA) led by Jonas Savimbi. It's a two-hour flight to Lubango. There we are to meet Soviet military advisers, refuel and then fly on to the front line. That means another forty minutes' flight to the small town of Cahama in Cunene Province from which a car or helicopter belonging to the Cuban internationalist units will take us to the country's southern border. The positions of the Angolan Army are twenty-five kilometres north of the border line. On the other side of the border, in the hills of Namibia, are South African units. Today there's a cease-fire here.

The southern border

Our AN-26 cruises over Lubango airstrip, as is the rule here. A patch of sky over the airstrip is covered by anti-aircraft missiles, which is why the plane may not leave the designated area. Through the porthole I see ambulances rushing along the airstrip towards our plane. The first question after landing was: "Anyone wounded?"

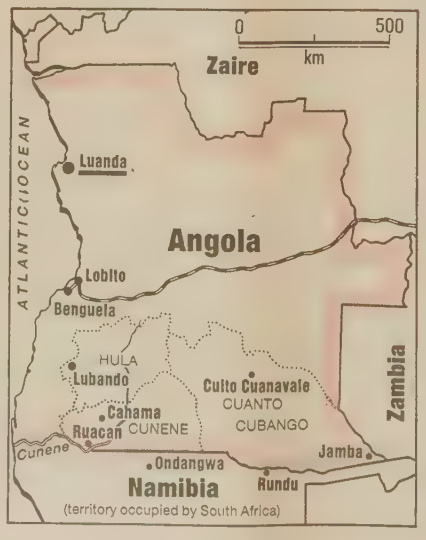
Colonel Shishkin was our guide from Lubango to Cahama.

On the roadside leading from Cahama to the southern border we saw burned out cars. Then we drove past a village where buildings had been razed to the ground. In Kunene River we saw the ruined supports of a bridge. In Cahama and other places there are many wounded, including children and old people. All that is a consequence of the heavy fighting that ravaged the place only recently.

"The Angolan units were repelling the South African aggression until August," said Colonel Shishkin. "They had to counter the onslaught of the South African troops and at the same time hit the UNITA units. On August 8, a cease-fire was announced. A week later, in the border area of Ruacana, the first meeting of the mixed commissions took place, attended by representatives of Cuba, Angola and South Africa, as well as an American expert. Each commission has a specific task, for example, to monitor the cease-fire and the withdrawal of South African troops, provide communications between the administration of Angolan border regions with the South African administration in Namibia, maintain security... These are very complicated missions, as the Southern Front covers an area of nearly 440,000 square kilometres.

Fifteen 10,000-strong UNITA battalions are also operating in the area

Savimbi's troops have the complete backing of the South African authorities. In August this year the 19th Brigade of the People's Armed Forces for the Liberation of Angola (FAPLA) successfully routed them in Huila Province. Six kilometres from the border the UNITA men took flight, and at the same time South African vehicles came scurrying from Namibia to transport them across the border.



Savimbi's headquarters is in Jamba. The area from Jamba to Cuito Cuanavale is still under his control. Roads and fields are mined, communications are in disarray. The war has upset traditional links between town and the countryside – Angola's most fertile regions.

Peace is making its way here with much difficulty and efforts to secure it continue to claim a heavy toll.

With the Cubans

After Cahama, we headed for the front line where Angolan units operate together with the Cuban internationalist fighters.

We reached the command post of the southern army group.

"The CO is not here now, Colonel Nardo, the chief of staff, will be meeting you," reports a young Cuban soldier at the battle outpost, showing us the way to the dugout shelter, built in accordance with wartime requirements. The shelter is massively protected against an air raid and has the skirmisher's holes needed in case of a ground attack...

A grey-haired Cuban colonel came forward to meet us. After an attentive glance at my FAPLA officer's uniform, he told me in Russian that he didn't like to see civilians in his unit. This is war, there is no time to wander about. However, the colonel proved cooperative and showed us round the position... The colonel is fifty, with thirty years of army service. When I asked him where he learned to speak Russian so well, he said smilingly: "We Cubans say, 'A colonel who doesn't speak Russian will never become a general'."

Colonel Nardo studied in Moscow and Leningrad and afterwards repeatedly visited the Soviet Union. He has already been stationed in Angola for more than three years, and I felt that he greatly missed his family. Back in Havana he has a wife and three daughters.

"The place we are passing by was only occupied recently by South African troops," said Nardo from the wheel of the jeep.

Suddenly, at the edge of the forest, we saw dug-in tanks and self-propelled guns. This is the front line. The CO of a Cuban tactical group, which includes this tank company, Lieutenant Colonel Rodolfo Polanco Egebaria guided us

Colonel Nardo awarding decorations to Cuban internationalist fighters
Photo by author

through the intricate maze of trenches. He showed us shelters, a kitchen and even an improvised cinema where soldiers would see films later. Everything we saw was neatly built of logs and planks and other materials that came to hand.

The CO of the Cuban tactical group lined his men up and we witnessed the presentation of awards to officers and men who had distinguished themselves in carrying out the mission. The CO read out the order and handed over the awards. A letter of thanks will be sent to the families of the internationalists who were decorated.

FAPLA officers were standing by. They eyed the ceremony with evident satisfaction, as it was their success as well.

Lieutenant Jose Antonio Ulipao, the CO of an Angolan battalion, shared his feelings with me when we reached the place where his unit was stationed.

"To date we have succeeded in achieving the main thing – we have preserved Angola's sovereignty and territorial integrity," he said. "Not a single South African soldier is still in Angola. We shall never forget the assistance rendered us by the Soviet Union and our Cuban friends. Today we face a no less difficult mission – to rout the UNITA battalions. But that is an internal matter and we must cope with this problem by ourselves, alone...

* * *

We left the Southern Front at twilight. Behind us was a day full of entirely new impressions to be thought over more than once. On the plane General Chernykh started reading, while Colonel Shishkin stared through the window, waiting for the last ray of sun to disappear below the horizon. Colonel Kuptsov fell asleep. When General Chernykh saw this, he whispered in my ear:

"He is a very brave young officer. He was wounded. The Angolans awarded him a decoration. He was promoted to full colonel ahead of time..."

I wanted to ask Kuptsov to tell me about his valiant service, then thought twice of it.

They don't talk about themselves much in Angola...

LUANDA-LUBANGO-CAHAMA

Jose Eduardo Dos Santos:

The talks must be expedited

Chairman of the MPLA – Party of Labour and President of Angola speaks of the situation in the country.

What would you say about the development of the talks on a settlement in the southwest of Africa?

The talks on a peaceful settlement in the southwest of Africa, attended by Angola, Cuba, South Africa and the United States, have been in progress since May of this year. In August we arrived at an agreement on a cease-fire between Angola and South Africa and on the withdrawal of South African troops from Angola. The withdrawal has now been achieved. Today it is necessary to expedite the talks, so that a comprehensive agreement can be concluded promoting Namibia's independence in conformity with U.N. resolution 435 and guaranteeing peace and security in our region.

The most controversial issue seems to be that of the withdrawal of Cuban internationalist fighters from Angola. Has there been any rapprochement on this matter?

In a sense, yes. First, the South African representatives suggested a seven-month withdrawal, then agreed on a year-long one. Our side suggested 48 months, then 36. As a compromise, the United States suggested a term of two years. At present the U.S. and we are demanding 24 and 30 months.

What steps have been taken towards achieving a healthier economic climate in the country?

The three-year programme of economic and financial normalization was adopted in Angola this year.

Some concrete steps have already been taken. I mean the liberalization measures in agriculture, transport and trade. For example, we are setting up a "green belt" around Luanda, within which we are carrying out new policies with regard to small agricultural producers. Prices for agricultural produce are now fixed by the peasants themselves. State-owned agricultural enterprises are being turned into centres for technical assistance to peasant families. We have also increased opportunities for private initiative in transport and trade.

An important element of the reform is enlisting foreign capital into those spheres of the national economy whose priority development would help us boost the production of consumer goods. We are counting on these measures to help reduce imports. Moreover, we are going to direct foreign investments in such a way as to increase the quantity of exportable goods and thus replenish our stock of hard currency. The policy of perestroika in the Soviet Union opens up broad new vistas for bilateral mutually beneficial cooperation in the economic sphere.

Interviewer Yuri Bogomolov

Does it pay to join the IMF and how much it costs?

Georgy Skorov,
Professor,
D.Sc. (Econ.)

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) is the most influential and representative international organization regulating monetary relations in the contemporary world. It was established simultaneously with the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development (IBRD) shortly after the formation of the United Nations Organization in 1944. The signing of the charters took place in Bretton Woods, a resort town in the United States, and on the strength of this the IMF and IBRD are also referred to as the Bretton Woods institutions.

Dimensions of economic independence

The U.S.S.R. is not a member of these organizations, does not share their philosophy and has no intention of sharing responsibility for their policies. The U.S.S.R. has more than once criticized their activities, as our country adheres to its own independent course in international monetary relations. At the same time, the Soviet Union cannot be immune from the consequences of the decisions they make.

Why?

The interdependence of the world we live in is not an abstraction, but a reality. Whether we wish it or not, even in our internal economic policy, to say nothing of international economic relations, we are very often not at all free, regardless of full state sovereignty and the status of the world's second greatest industrial power. Incidentally, the same goes for the United States and other leading and "led" nations. They all have to abide by the generally accepted norms of economic relationships.

Here the most important thing is not so much the scale of a national economy and its share of world industrial output (though this is also important) but rather the degree of its involvement in world economic processes and the intensity of its interaction with other countries.

In this sense we lag seriously behind the U.S.A., Japan, the F.R.G., Britain and other states. Thanks to their involvement in the exchange of commodities, capital and workforce on a world scale, these nations have a much greater say than we do in shaping international economic situation. It is they and not us that determine value exchange rates which find their expression in world prices, the volume and direction of commodity flows, world bank interest rates, exchange rates, that is, the numerous conditions affecting the well-being of the participants in the international division of labour, the Soviet Union included.

These conditions, naturally, are formed as a result of a variety of factors, such as objective tendencies in the development of the world economy, government policies, the activities of private capital... The variety of these forces and the possibility of having a hand in influencing these conditions, taking part in shaping them rather than merely adapting to them or regarding them from the viewpoint of one of Chekhov's characters, who exclaimed: "Eat what you are given!" All this faces the U.S.S.R. with the dilemma – to be or not to be a member of the IMF.

Pros and cons

What are the pros and cons for our entering the IMF? Why do we need it at all? Couldn't we postpone the decision for forty years or so until we have solved all our problems or until the IMF has become what we want it to be?

Views on this subject differ widely. But when all has been said and done, they boil down to an alternative: to enter or not to enter. Which is better for us, the former or the latter? .

I think that in this area, as in many others, the interests of the U.S.S.R. are both of strategic and tactical nature.

The strategic objective is to take an active part in working out and implementing the forthcoming reform of the monetary system, in particular the IMF, as well as in determining international monetary policy. The tactical aim is to secure the opportunity to enlist, if need be, additional financial resources at a lower interest rate than if we borrow from a privately-owned bank.

To work for the former objective outside the IMF is very difficult if not impossible. We also need to be members of the Fund to be clearer in our own mind as to what particularly it is that we do not like in the current international monetary system and how we see its reform. As far as I know, we have not yet formed a clear picture at official level. The present system cannot be satisfactory to anyone. Different variants for reorganizing it are being suggested. It is obvious that it would be better for us to join the discussion now rather than criticize the new system, in whose establishment we took no part and seek to change it post-factum.

The need for a more active stand in elaborating the reform is corroborated by the fact that we have gained nothing by standing aloof from the shaping of international monetary policy over the whole postwar period. We have not succeeded either in avoiding its consequences or in neutralizing it. More, in recent years the impact of the capitalist monetary system on the foreign trade operations of the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries has substantially increased. It calls at least for our cooperation with the current regulation mechanism or, even better, for our participation in a new mechanism, one which would enable us to regulate such operations in the interests of the socialist countries, bearing in mind further socialist economic integration.

The non-participation of the U.S.S.R. in the regulation of international monetary ties is already causing certain problems in our economic relations with socialist countries. Some of them (Hungary, China, Poland, Vietnam, Romania, Yugoslavia) have been members of the IMF for years and unlike the U.S.S.R. have been active in developing their monetary systems in directions that meet world standards. Therefore the course of "abstention" from active cooperation with the IMF is nowadays not only ineffective but is fraught with negative consequences for the integration processes in the socialist community as a whole.

The further the consolidation of the global financial market proceeds without the U.S.S.R. and other socialist countries, the more difficult it would be for the socialist community subsequently to merge with it, and the graver the potential economic damage to those who stand aloof from one of the most important trends in the development of the world economy.

As for the second objective, that is, enlisting additional credits with the assis-

tance of the IMF to recover a balance of payments, it would unquestionably prove constructive in reorganizing the structure of the Soviet economy, re-equipping some industries and raising the quality and competitiveness of Soviet products. Learning from the experience of the market economy which underlies the IMF's philosophy, we could faster and more efficiently complete the development of the new monetary mechanism combining the principles of nationwide planning with nationwide socialist market and the integrated market of the CMEA member states. This would be an important prerequisite for developing real cooperation between the CMEA and EEC countries on the threshold of 1992, the tentative date for the establishment of a single West European home market.

Does it pay to be afraid?

The major arguments put forward by those opposed to U.S.S.R.'s membership of the International Monetary Fund boil down to the following.

– It makes no sense to place an extra burden on the Soviet economy, making payments to the IMF and assuming responsibility for replenishing the IMF's financial resources, as they will expect the U.S.S.R., as an IMF member, to act as a creditor to other countries rather than as a poor relation attempting to repair its own finances.

– There is no need for it to become subject to the threat of a diktat and place itself in the position of a country obliged to comply with IMF's prescriptions to make healthy an essentially sound economy, and on market principles into the bargain.

– We should not provide the Fund with confidential information on the real situation in the Soviet economy.

– After all, whatever we do, we won't be accepted as members of the IMF as we are not accepted in the GATT.

What can be said against these arguments?

First, no matter what the size of the payment to the IMF that any country makes, it is three quarters in the national currency. It makes no difference whether the currency is convertible or not, as many IMF member countries have been getting along all right having paid in soft currency. Thus, it is not a question of an extra financial burden compared, say, with the current state budget deficit (to which we have become accustomed). As for the remaining quarter, which is paid in hard currency or in gold, it figures in the country's balance of payments as an asset which can be demanded and obtained. This too is an important argument showing up the far-fetched character of the "burden" issue. As for whether the U.S.S.R. is expected to replenish the Fund's resources or vice versa, it has nothing to do with the problem of the expediency of the U.S.S.R. joining this institution. It could be that it does not meet the interests of a particular country, but fits in with the IMF general course: universality demands compromises.

Drawing by Konstantin Yarikov

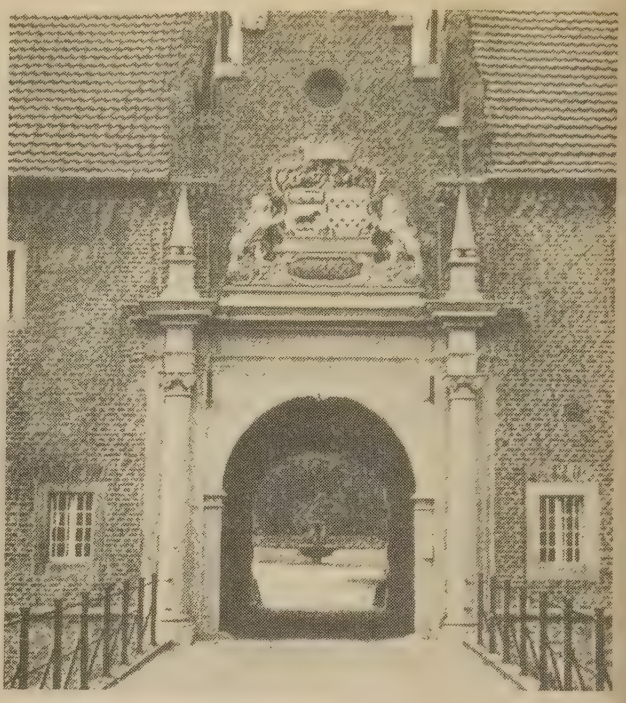
Secondly, the IMF dictates terms only if the country asks for a hard currency credit in excess of a quarter of its quota. If a lesser sum is requested, the country is entitled to the credit without any strings attached, paying it off with its national currency, a condition which can hardly be labelled as burdensome. As far as larger loans are concerned, granting them is accompanied by certain reservations to prevent squandering and wasting credit funds. But private banks too attach conditions for their credits and demand a guarantee that the loan will be paid back. To label these conditions, a diktat can hardly be justified since it is a free bargain, one being free not to make it against one's will.

Thirdly, reluctance to provide authentic information on the situation in the economy nowadays seems an anachronism. Recently the U.S.S.R. provided the United Nations with detailed information on its Navy as of July 1, 1988. Are data on crop yields, fulfilment of indusltrial plans or budget deficits even more confidential? The Soviet press daily prints information which until recently was closed to the majority of people. Now it is available to everybody. Incidentally, formerly its "secrecy" did not at all prevent the West analyzing the workings of the Soviet economy, and the accuracy of their conclusions baffles votaries of conundrums. Whether we provide the IMF with the information officially or whether we allow them to gather it on their own makes no difference. Anyone interested will be able to acquaint himself as to the situation in the Soviet economy. One should not harbour illusions on this account.

The final argument is they will not accept us. The proof of this, like the proof of the pudding, is in the eating, in this case in making a try. For this at least one should knock on the door. But suppose the country which has a say in every major IMF decision objects to this move, are we to despair? Is this the stand the U.S.S.R. takes at disarmament negotiations? The new thinking, perseverance and flexibility have made it possible for Soviet diplomacy to solve the seemingly insoluble question of eliminating two types of missiles in Europe.

So should we or should we not be afraid? That is the question. ■

Learning the art of management



In my mind's eye I pictured a modern school for managers as a steel-and-glass building stuffed full of brightly-coloured electronic gadgets. This was part of the reason why I took such a long time circling around the streets of the small town of Erftstadt before I found the necessary address. It never occurred to me that the beautiful ancient castle surrounded by a leafy park in the town centre was the University Economics Seminar (USW), the most prestigious managerial school in the F.R.G.

"Human capital"

The school has every facility for study from computers and video equipment to its own printshop and gymnasium housed in the former stable.

Refurbishing Gracht Castle to house the school must have cost the firms financing the USW a pretty penny. West German employers, however, do not consider such expenditure unproductive. They believe – and rightly so – that money invested in the upgrading the managerial skills is money well spent. In the past 15 years their spending for the purpose has increased sixfold to reach DM 12,000 million a year. The level of profits from the investment is a secret. But it must be high, judging from the fact that a poll found 65 per cent of West German firms intending to increase their investment in "human capital." They understand that this investment is necessary if they are to remain competitive in the world and to ensure the country's technological and economic development. The "modernization of brains" has to be pursued on a permanent basis. Even the most advanced knowledge acquired today will be hopelessly out of date in ten years' time.

The University Seminar was organized in February 1968 by West German employers and academics. Both sides had become aware of the need to set up a school of management: the study of entrepreneurial activity burgeoned in the 1950s and 1960s, but businessmen had little chance to benefit from these studies. The USW was designed to bridge the widening gap between theory and practice. "It's hard to put in a nutshell what a manager is," says Dr Klaus Aden, a research worker and Deputy Director of the USW responsible for international relations. "A pure researcher, for example, is not a manager. But if he takes part in organizing research, he is already a manager. The same applies to a doctor who not only treats patients but also runs a clinic."

Leadership...

"If we look at the necessary attributes of a skilful manager," says Klaus Aden, "we have to bear in mind that a manager above all provides leadership. Today, intimate knowledge of details is not as important as qualities of leadership. One must have perseverance, immunity to stressful situations and a gift for decision-making. But I'd like to stress that the most important thing is dealing with people, be they your subordinates or members of the supervisory panel. And of course you must be on good terms with His Majesty the Market. Also, one has to be able to think strategically, and not only in terms of immediate interests. Quick success sometimes seems the simplest way to deal with a problem, but does not always open up the best perspective for the future."

"Do you think a computer will some day take over the role of manager?"

"I don't rule out such a possibility. Today computers are tackling problems that used to be the prerogative of men. There is talk of creating an artificial intelligence. But as of now, business depends heavily on the personal qualities of businessmen and relations between them. Trust, sympathy or antipathy are very important factors. No matter how much one talks about computers, the fact remains that economics is still very much about relations between people."

No one has counted how many managers in the classic sense there are in the F.R.G. Klaus Aden believes there are between 50 and 100 thousand. The overwhelming majority of them are men. How is one to find the most efficient managers to suit this or that particular firm? This is not such a simple problem as it might appear at first sight. There is no set procedure for selecting a talented manager. That is why many firms – roughly half of all firms, according to Aden – resort to the services of "head hunters," who, for a fee, scout for the right kind of people in and outside the country and lure them to work for their clients. The other half recruits managers in the usual way – through their personnel departments, adverts and personal contacts.

"Is there unemployment among managers?" Klaus Aden shrugs. "Of course there is, though it is below the average level. As a rule, the most highly skilled and experienced managers do not have to look for a job. But even if someone advertises for a job this does not mean

that he is unemployed. Many are looking for a better job. Those who are out of work have been fired for a gross error, or are young, inexperienced managers who haven't yet had a chance to prove their worth."

Gossip columns are full of scandals involving popular actors and big-time managers. Managers have been involved in every major political scandal.

According to Aden, this is not surprising. First, leading managers are always very much in the public eye due to the nature of their job. The press keeps tabs on their activities. People like von Amerongen, for instance, often move from high economic posts to political ones, or combine the two. And when you are in the public eye, every mistake is taken into account. Second, many leading managers are closely linked with politicians. Some firms, such as Siemens, get large orders financed by the federal or land governments. These are lucrative orders. No wonder the heads of firms seek to be on good terms with leading political figures. Their interests often merge. This can easily lead to abuses: the temptation to seal a friendship with a bribe is very great.

... and its scope

In a small or medium enterprise in the F.R.G., the manager who is usually the owner, is lord and master. He controls every aspect of the firm's affairs. Such enterprises form the majority. In large enterprises the situation is different. Production is supervised by a board of 5-6, sometimes as many as ten people. The board is responsible to shareholders, on the one hand, and employees, on the other.

The structure of a large firm is fairly complex. In addition to the board, there is a supervisory panel elected by shareholders to act as a watchdog over the board. At the same time, the board enjoys relative autonomy in its day-to-day operations, and only reports to the supervisory panel once a year. Between reports, the board only seeks the panel's approval for very important decisions that cannot be delayed until the end of the year.

"This is not to say that the board can do anything it likes," said Klaus Aden. "The manager's freedom is restricted by the triangle: owner, work force, the market. The decisions he makes must take into account the demands of each of the three vertices of this triangle. In formal terms, there are no legal restrictions on his actions. Restrictions, equally harsh, are imposed by economic laws. Ignoring these laws means financial disaster, and that is often more terrible than a court sentence."

I told Dr Aden about the election of plant managers in the Soviet Union and asked his opinion about it.

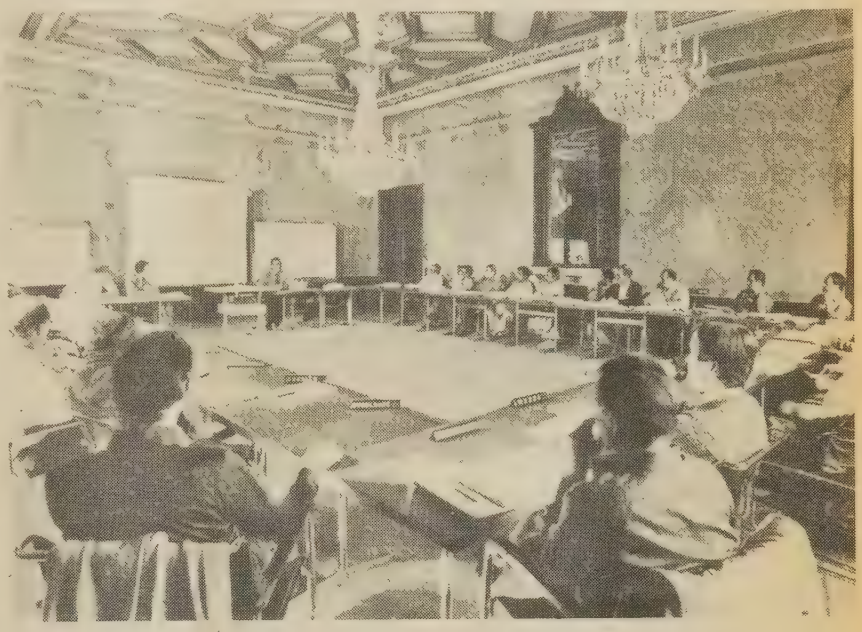
"It would have been a crazy idea in this country," he replied. "Trade unions have long been pressing for participation in management. They have made breakthroughs in some areas, for example, in mining and steel. In other industries, participation is virtually nil. As someone who believes in the market economy, I think giving workers too much say can be dangerous. Workers may try to wrest concessions to the detriment of the firm's market activity. If the workers at one enterprise secure better conditions – say, higher wages and shorter hours – this will in the long run make the firm less competitive. This would mean lower profits, and consequently less capital available for new investment, research and development, and new technology. Sooner or later this would boomerang against the workers themselves. They'd have to look for other jobs if the firm went bankrupt."

"Well, I'm sure our readers would be interested to know your point of view, although I must say that I do not share it. I believe that most workers, in your country and in mine, are conscientious people who would not sacrifice long-term economic perspectives for immediate benefits. But to return to managers. How does one become a manager?"

How to become a manager?

"There is no simple formula for becoming a manager. As a rule, one must have a degree. Most modern managers are trained economists, the second biggest group being engineers and scientists. All these categories are usually represented on the boards of major firms.

"For the first 4-5 years a graduate holds a minor post in the firm. Depending on his performance, he is promoted. He may also seek promotion on the side, moving from firm to firm and sometimes from one sector of industry to another. Gradually he climbs the ladder to the pinnacle of his career, i.e., becoming the manager of his firm. But of course only a few people get to the top. You don't have to pass any tests or sit for examinations. You are judged solely on your ability to get things done.



A "business game" is in full swing at Gracht Castle

"From time to time a manager takes an upgrading course, like here at the USW. This is becoming increasingly common practice. While formerly a lot depended on the market – during the depression firms were stingy in allocating money for the training of their employees – today even low-profit firms are prepared to pick up the bill, hoping that their managers, equipped with new knowledge, will help them out of their troubles. Practice shows that the investment always pays off."

"Could we look at the figures?"

"Training costs between 3,500 and 5,000 marks a week per person (bet-

ween 1,200 and 1,400 rubles according to the official rate). Plus 150 marks a day for accommodation and food. A seminar can last anywhere between a week and six weeks."

"What form do the classes take?"

"Classes begin at eight in the morning and usually last until half past nine in the evening. They normally take the form of a report followed by a discussion. Every class lasts an hour and a half, with one half given over to the report and the other to discussion. The seminars are conducted by university teachers and practical workers. You might have a professor telling the students about innovative management, scientific error detection, planning and carrying out production innovation. A practical worker, say, an executive with a firm, explains how it all looks in real life and gives specific examples.

"Another form of studies is solving economic problems. Trainees get the documentation of an economic situation – real or imagined – and are invited to offer suggestions on how the problems should be tackled. The various solutions are then jointly discussed, assessed and systematized."

West German managers probably took it for granted, but I as a nonspecialist was impressed that in their "business games" they had also to take into account a flu epidemic, the ecological situation or the flooding of a storehouse in looking for the optimal solution. The West German press has been widely discussing the possibility of Soviet managers studying in the F.R.G.

"Could the USW take students from the Soviet Union?"

Klaus Aden sounded evasive.

"It's not such a simple matter. I don't know exactly what the Russians want, so I can't make a concrete offer. In any case there are two problems. One is the language barrier. We have no Russian-speaking lecturers. Simultaneous interpreting is costly and makes teaching less effective. The other problem is to determine the composition of the target group. We have to know exactly who will come, from what sectors of the economy, what their level of education is and what they should be taught. Our teaching is geared entirely to the market economy. It would make sense to train your people who work on the international market or intend to enter it in the future. In order to operate in it successfully, you must have approximately the same tool kit whether you are an entrepreneur from the U.S.S.R., China, France or Argentina. Of course, you can have your own secrets, but you must know the international market all the same.

"If you make shoes," Klaus Aden went on, "it doesn't matter where they are made, the important thing is to whom you sell them. You must see to it that prices are in line with the quality and steadiness of supply. To stand international competition you must be adaptable. To my mind, many of the difficulties encountered by exporters from the socialist countries stem from their poor knowledge of the demand on the international market. The market is saturated and if you want to sell something it has to be better or cheaper. This we could teach you."

Another problem Klaus Aden mentioned was that training is costly and one has to pay for it in hard currency. No compensation deals are possible here. You have to pay in cash. So, before making the final decision, Soviet entrepreneurs will have to make sure that the investment will pay off.

Area of competence

After the talk at Gracht Castle I wanted to see how managers work in practice. I chose Puma, the firm that manufactures sportswear and sports shoes. I understand that the popular West German tennis player Boris Becker did much to promote its wares.

I didn't have a chance to talk to any of the leading executives. The reason was that they were too busy managing production – their daily schedule was so tight they couldn't fit me in. I hated to leave empty-handed and eventually banged into the office of Klaus Wolfermann from the public relations department, who interrupted talks with some English-speaking delegation to give me a fifteen-minute interview.

"We have different managers," says Herr Wolfermann. "They work at the lower, middle and upper levels. But each has his area of competence in which he feels at home. If a manager's decision affects an adjacent area, he is obliged to consult its manager, and if it involves a radical change, he has to notify the boss.

"The firm expects every manager to take prompt but considered decisions that will lead to financial or economic success. Such a person must of course have vast background knowledge in his sphere and be familiar with the sports goods market."

"To what extent does a manager's salary depend on his performance?"

"That's an odd question to ask. The firm will never pay an unearned salary. Before signing on a manager, the firm discusses his future salary with him. If no compromise is reached, one side continues to look for a job and the other side for a suitable person."

"Suppose a manager hits on a brilliant solution that boosts profits. How is he rewarded?"

"There are many ways to encourage talent. For instance, offering a certain percentage of the super profit."

"What percentage?"

"It depends..."

I did not press him on that point and asked him about the role of planning at his firm.

"We do have planning, usually long-term. It draws on a thorough study of the market and we have a special department that does it. However, we often have to make adjustments to the plan. This happens when a new fad sweeps the market. For instance, when aerobics came from America to the F.R.G. If Puma hadn't quickly switched part of its capacity to the production of aerobics suits and shoes, other firms would have broken into the market. Naturally, such a change in demand could not have been predicted a year or two ahead."

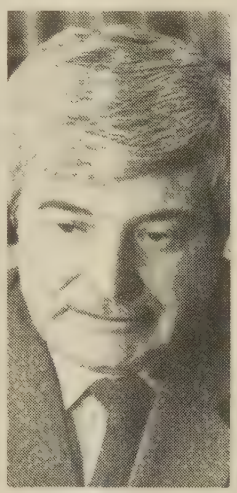
Klaus Wolfermann looked at his watch and excused himself:

"Sorry, it's business."

Nikita Zholkver,
our own correspondent
ERFTSTADT – BONN

Full equality guaranteed

Professor Gavriil Popov



A few suggestions to legislators

The equality of all voters and deputies is an essential requirement for the democratization of society. In this connection I would like to express several reflections concerning the draft laws on amendments to the Constitution and the election of people's deputies.

The idea is to have a congress of people's deputies, with the Supreme Soviet as its part. If we want deputies to do their work conscientiously, but are not prepared to free them of their former duties for a term of five years, the way out lies, indeed, in having a two-tier body of state authority.

But I find it difficult to accept that the Supreme Soviet will be elected by the congress of people's deputies and that a fifth of its members will be renewed every year. Under this system, the Supreme Soviet will consist of members sitting in it for two, three or four years, and newly elected members.

Wouldn't it be more reasonable to have each deputy to the congress sitting in the Supreme Soviet for one year? The congress will decide at its first sitting in which of his five years each deputy will sit in the Supreme Soviet. The number of members in the two chambers of the Supreme Soviet will have to be determined accordingly.

The idea of nominating candidates from public organizations does not seem particularly simple to me. According to the draft, one and the same citizen – a member of the Communist Party, a trade unionist, a member of a scientific society, a veterans' union, a women's association, and so on – shall receive two, or three, or five votes in the election to the congress of people's deputies. The equality of voters is fully violated in this case.

The formation of the Supreme Soviet's two chambers – the Soviet of the Union and, especially, the Soviet of Nationalities – is extremely complicated in the draft. For instance, Armenia may be represented in the Soviet of Nationalities by a deputy who merely lives in that republic but was not elected by anyone.

It is not and cannot be clear how to set quotas for deputies from public organizations. If their membership is taken as the basis of calculation, then the Red Cross or the Voluntary Society for Assisting Army, Air Force and Navy will be the largest among them. If the membership is disregarded, then the question of quotas from public organizations will be decided arbitrarily.

It is not clear either what organization can be considered public. Aren't informals among them? And what about Orthodox Russian, Roman Catholic, Moslem or Jewish religious communities, whose membership runs into thousands?

In general, the procedure for forming a body of deputies from public organizations seems to be based on three presumptions which have an obviously administrative, not a democratic direction:

– members of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities elected directly by voters (from among several candidates) may prove beyond the bureaucratically-minded administration's control;

– on the contrary, public organizations are under the control of the administrative apparatus and will therefore meekly accept the quotas for representation offered from above and will nominate "obedient" candidates; a public organization may accept the decision taken by its leadership on this question without sounding out the opinion of all its members;

– public organizations that do not suit someone may not, accordingly, be taken into account; no quotas will be set for them, and they will not be permitted to take part in elections.

If the idea of representation of public organizations remains, it needs to be defined more precisely.

Firstly, on registering his name for election to the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities, each citizen will receive a "third ballot"; if he is a member of several public organizations, he himself will decide for which one to cast it.

Secondly, there must be a definite criterion for representation, depending on the number of members of one or other organization.

Thirdly, having counted the cards handed over to it, a public organization (or an association of public organizations) informs the Central Electoral Commission of the number of its members who have decided to vote in it. Organizations (or their unions) with a number of voting members below the level set for them will not be registered.

It is advisable that members who have decided to give their "third" vote to their own organization do so by direct and secret ballot. More than one candidate should be nominated by an organization for one seat. Elections in the organizations will be held under the supervision of electoral commissions.

Under these circumstances the election of candidates of public organizations to the congress of people's deputies will make for the representation of the main public trends in the higher body of state authority and, at the same time, will not violate the voter's right himself to determine the composition of the Soviet of the Union and the Soviet of Nationalities.

Lease holding or joint ownership?

"The work of a cooperator is more than an occupation. It is a life-style."

Andrei KONOVALOV, *chairman of the Moscow producer cooperative Shtamp, talks of the rise and growth of a new movement in the Soviet economy.*

For some reason the first question at almost every meeting with journalists is how much I earn a month and how much my cooperative has in its account. I shall say right away that I earn something like 1,000 rubles a month, and the cooperative is about 1.5 million rubles in the black. Upwards of 1,000 people are employed in it. Their efficiency and incomes are considerably higher than the productivity and wages of workers at state-owned plants. This is probably true of any cooperative, though far from all of them fully exploit their potential. The arbitrary taxation system, which has been abrogated only on paper, compels people to take evasive actions.

The "shadow" economy

What funds were used in the founding of a large number of cooperatives? The answer will not surprise anyone who knows how our economic mechanism operates. I believe that up to 60 per cent of cooperatives (those making good profits) were started with money "lost" to the state, that is, money which was circulating only recently in the "shadow" economy. That does not mean, however, that profit-making cooperatives have been set up with ill-gotten gains. But the possibility of that should not be ruled out either.

Tatiana Karyakina, who has long been studying various manifestations of the "shadow" economy and, recently, of cooperatives, estimates the cost of "shadow" business in our country at 80 billion rubles. True, in the "shadow" economy she does not include the machinations of our officials in the distribution of resources, but only the untaxed labour of individuals and whole plants – the renovation of flats, haulage and the building of weekend cottages on garden plots, that is, private business not registered by the state.

To my mind, the concept of the "shadow" economy is much broader. The "shadow" economy is rooted in state-owned enterprises where loopholes for it are to be found at every work place.

For many years I worked in areas connected with the iron and steel industry and know well the scale of shady operations in the procurement of recyclable ferrous metal scrap. I put the figure at more than a billion rubles. In the engineering industry, too, the figure is clearly no less impressive.

Where does this money come from? One method is familiar to almost every shop superintendent (whether he uses it or not is a different matter). A proportion of the bonuses undeservingly granted to the workers is kept back, and at the end of the month, when the plan has to be fulfilled urgently, the money is taken out of the safe. A typical instance of the "shadow" economy.

When the cooperative movement began eighteen months ago, the founders of producer cooperatives could hope to use only equipment written off by enterprises and their waste. Now that goods produced by cooperatives are in as much demand as those manufactured by state-owned factories, it has become evident that such a way of obtaining equipment and resources impedes the growth of cooperatives and the economy as a whole, for that matter.

For that reason the government is beginning to revise the entire system of maintenance supply. True, no appreciable progress towards the creation of a free market has so far been made. Not a few highly-placed officials, who regard cooperation with distrust, still wonder why the cooperatives should be granted special rights because, they say, this creates a threat to state-owned enterprises. I would ask, however, what kind of enterprises are threatened by cooperatives. Only those which, placed on a self-supporting basis, would go bankrupt without competition.

As one economist has aptly remarked, cooperatives in various spheres of production and services are like manoeuvrable passenger cars among cumbersome heavy lorries. They not only respond more promptly to the changing demand, and ultimately help the government solve many urgent problems. They also unite the interests of people of various professions – scientists, designers and workers.

I would even say that the work of a cooperator is not an occupation. It is rather a way of life requiring the maximum possible exertion of energy and skills. Working in the design office of a producer association, I gradually came to realize that what I did was of interest only to myself. The office chief and the factory manager had their own plans and were not interested in an invention because it was not known when it would produce results. Moreover, an invention had to be introduced into production. So if you fail to get your invention or innovation accepted in production, it will remain on the drawing board. Rationalizers won't let me tell a lie.

In the West, where money is carefully counted, there is an efficient system for scouting for valuable ideas. If a manager does not understand the proposals made by an engineer or a scientist, he can hire an expert who will appraise them at their true worth. And the manager will not lose money in the long run. Even if only one in ten proposals is introduced in production, it will nonetheless lead to profits. In the cooperative system, too, we seek to unite people who are not subject to the constraints of a plan but, as co-owners of a business, do their best to make it effective.

Far from idealizing the capitalist economy, I am nonetheless firmly convinced that the law of commodity-money relations is valid under any system. The main distinction between socialism and capitalism, Marx wrote, lies in the ownership of the means of production. But no thinker who dreamed of socialism be-

lieved it would be characterized by the humble acceptance of poverty.

Further progress

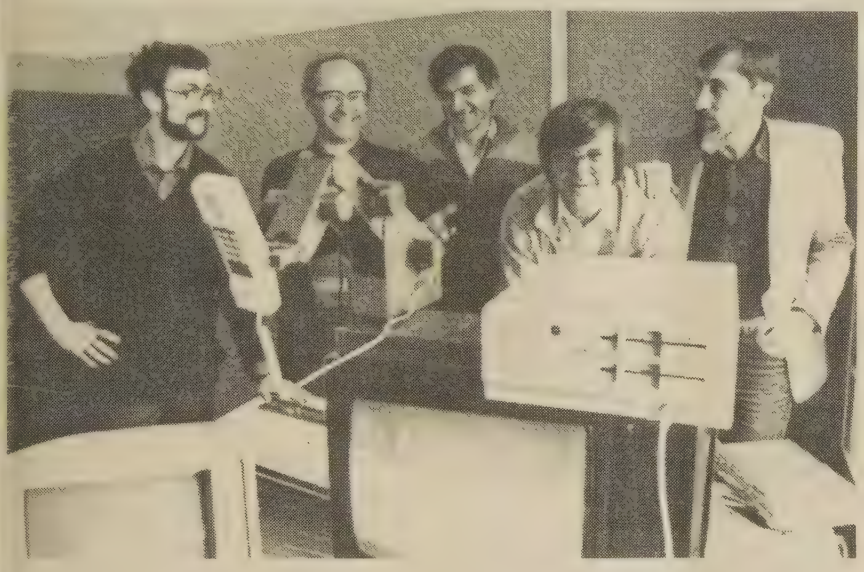
Late this year the experimental plant Krasny Blok at the National Research Institute for Hoist and Conveyance Transport Engineering, is to go cooperative. Formely our cooperative used the equipment during the second and third shifts. Now the collective has decided to take the plant on lease. The contract lays down the cost and volume of the state order and for the range of products. The plant's other products will be independently sold by the cooperative at contractual prices. A former state-owned enterprise is now being run on a cooperative basis.

This may seem a very bold step on the part of the workers who have taken the plant on lease, and of the bodies that gave their consent to it. Leasing means using something for a given period, and hence it is not advantageous to me, as the chairman of a cooperative, to invest money in the retooling of an enterprise and the creation of normal working conditions for personnel. When the five-year term of the lease expires, I will be told: "Take back your money and build your own plant if you want to."

I shall return the completely worn-out equipment to the state, because I only leased it for a specific term. Such a situation is not ultimately advantageous to the state either. Progressive as it may be today, the lease contract system – at least in the way it is now being offered – has no prospect in the sphere of production. That is my opinion.

I am convinced that there is another way to have enterprises make higher profit. For instance, the same plant could be sold to our cooperative on an instalment plan and made cooperative property. We would issue shares, which could be bought by all members of the cooperative and other people concerned.

Incidentally, the process of handing enterprises over to cooperative ownership is under way in both the socialist and capitalist countries. Our cooperative has already established links with cooperators in California. We would like these links to bring us profits not only through purely economic deals but, strange as it may seem, through the sponsoring of joint mass actions for peace and disarmament. For instance, we are going to fund a peace march that will go through several European countries next year.



The Moscow cooperative Takt has been set up by specialists in computer equipment
TASS photo

I think all cooperatives strive to act together. Many of them would already like to establish contacts with foreign partners. It is much easier for them to do so than for our state-owned enterprises with their cumbersome structure. But, unfortunately, the desire alone is not enough.

The further advance of the scientific and technological revolution is forcing us to look at things differently from the way we did several years ago. Production is increasingly releasing people doing unskilled and depersonalized work, replacing them with automatic machines. Today, a worker operates equipment worth millions of rubles, and the products it turns out also cost millions of rubles. Workers can become vitally interested in the efficient operation of the entire enterprise if each of them develops a feeling of being a co-participant in the production process.

This is a very important factor in the efficiency of production and one of the reasons why in many industrial countries the owners of factories sell their shares to workers. I am not an expert in the Western economy, but one need not be a great theoretician to imagine how, say, in Japan, personnel work in teams, and not on an assembly line. Assembly lines have only survived in industries where all operations can be performed by robots.

The industries where a qualitative breakthrough is needed – I have in mind especially fine technologies – are increasingly changing over to a new order: the emancipation of human brains at an enterprise jointly owned by its personnel. This is a departure from the treatment of a worker as a "cog." To a certain extent, workers must be the owners of an enterprise. I believe that to an even greater extent such a situation would be in the interests of socialism.

Intellect is money

I think that the scientific and technological revolution, which is still in its embryonic stage in this country, is capable of radically changing economic relations in any society. Sometimes we simply do not understand what fruits the merging of mental and physical labour will yield. The results of this process will be most palpable in industries with a high level of technology. It is in these industries that we lag most of all behind the economically advanced countries. If measures are not taken, the gap between us and them will increase with every passing year. And we shall have to continue to buy Western technologies unless we change our attitude to the intellectual abilities of our citizens.

It is time we learned to sell new ideas not just on the foreign market but also to each other. For the best production results and the biggest commercial successes are brought about by unconventional methods. So the intellect can earn good money both for those who use it and those who display it. I wish the way to such cooperation could also lie through producer cooperatives.

I don't think a person can be made to work creatively. He can be made interested in such work not by wages or bonuses, but by the possibility of deciding jointly with his fellow workers on how to distribute the common profit.

"Factories to the workers!" At the beginning of the scientific and technological revolution this early 20th-century slogan is no less applicable than it was on the eve of the social revolution. ■

A drop in the ocean

External economic ties of the Far East

It would appear only reasonable to begin this analysis by trying to answer the seemingly straightforward question, what do we really expect of the Far East? It is a vast region that stretches from the steppes of Transbaikalia to the Pacific and from the Arctic Ocean to the Amur River. Next to this giant even big countries seem like dwarves. The region takes up an area fifteen times that of Japan. It should be quite clear what the prospects for the Soviet Far East are now that the Baikal-Amur Railway has been built and a long-term government programme adopted a year ago for the comprehensive development of the productive forces of the region. The above question may even seem unwarranted in view of these developments, but ask it we must, nonetheless. What do we expect of the Far East and what can we realistically do to promote its development? The broader the definition of the issue, the easier it would appear to be to answer the question, but as soon as we begin to consider it in the context of specific undertakings or obligations, the indisputable becomes problematical.

There is a new world economic centre in the Pacific. It now accounts for about 60 per cent of world industrial output and more than a third of world trade. The Soviet Far East is an ideal springboard for economic cooperation with the rapidly developing Asian and Pacific nations, but is it ready to play that part? Regrettably, it is not.

For decades the development of the Far East was in the hands of government ministries that substituted their own interests for the interests of the nation. They looked on the Far East as a giant treasury from which nonferrous and precious metals, timber, coal and of course fish and marine products were to be obtained at relatively little cost. Every ministry was interested in what it considered its own, and if it chanced to encounter raw materials that were the responsibility of another ministry, it ignored them. Local Communist Party and government bodies tried to develop the region comprehensively, but central government ministries showed little or no interest in this.

As a result, in terms of availability of housing, hospitals, highways, schools, kindergartens and retail stores, the region has found itself far behind the average indices for the nation. How can labour be attracted here, taking into consideration the fact that there is a catastrophic labour shortage in the region? It is now clear that "geographical" pay bonuses are not enough. The appeal of faraway lands does not suffice either. That is something that has been discussed for several five-year development periods, but no radical change has yet taken place.

Why is that so? Do we really have narrow-minded people in charge of our government ministries? Far from it. The point is that any industrial project in an area 7-8 times zones away from the central parts of the country claims considerable expense. It was required of the government ministries that they above all deliver the goods in return for the funding they received. Given a choice, no one will go ahead with industrial projects where costs are high and the climate is inclement. This suggests that above all we must change the economic situation and create economic incentives to attract labour, enterprise and government departments to the Far East. Decrees or appeals won't do the trick, and this is something everyone now realizes. What we need are real stimuli such as tax exemptions and lower prices for electricity, water and so on.

There is no time to be wasted

It would be absolutely wrong in my view to postpone the development of international economic cooperation until the right conditions have emerged in the Soviet Far East, along with an adequate industrial and social infrastructure, a sophisticated new economic mechanism and industries capable of exporting high technology products, and until the chronic shortage of labour, and above all, skilled labour, has been dealt with. All those whom I talked to in the Khabarovsk and Maritime territories and on Sakhalin island subscribe to this point of view. Economic ties with neighbouring nations can give the Soviet Far East what it needs both in general and in particular; they have already given it badly needed raw material processing technologies, labour, machinery, fresh fruit and vegetables, and expertise in quickly building world-class hotels. The latter is something that we cannot do without. To my knowledge, until recently only Khabarovsk and Nakhodka were open to foreigners in the Soviet Far East. Many cities required special entry permits which could be obtained relatively easily by those going on business trips or visiting relatives, but were very hard to come by if you were a mere tourist. This explains the standard of the local hotels and the services they offer. That was accepted as an inevitable evil, but now that the Far East has been opened up, the shortage of hotel accommodation of a decent standard can no longer be tolerated.

"Let us first build those hotels and introduce those services, and open our city later" – that sort of reasoning has until recently reflected the accepted point of view. It is now clear that opening cities and introducing adequate catering services must and can be done simultaneously.

We discussed this with the Secretary of the Maritime Territory's CPSU Committee, Vladimir Popov, in his office on the sixth floor of the new office block lined with marble panels on the shore of the Golden Horn Bay in Vladivostok. That brand new office block has been ironically dubbed by city residents the "White Swan." Several hundred yards away is another, slightly older office block, the headquarters of the Pacific Fleet Command. According to Vladimir Popov, it is also the headquarters of the opposition to opening the city up to foreigners. There do not appear to be any cogent reasons, though, for keeping a city of half a million locked up in the present circumstances.

Are the partners really to blame?

We are already employing foreign labour, but on a very small scale. Several hundred Chinese, Vietnamese and Koreans now work here, but we need thousands and perhaps tens of thousands, Vladimir Popov says. There are benefits for all sides. Look at the map. China is quite near, Vietnam is farther away, but the distance is of course far

adivostok. Golden Horn Bay

orter than the route from Vladivostok to oscow, and besides, there is a direct a link. That is not the most important ng, though. We invite labour from the ropean part of the country all the time, t labour is badly needed there as well, ile there is redundant labour in China d Vietnam, and the two countries are nking of ways of dealing with that oblem.

Where is foreign labour employed in e Soviet Far East? Vladimir Popov says at Vietnamese women have, for inance, been working at a linen factory hich, before they came, had for several ars operated at less than third of pacity. There was not enough local bour. The Vietnamese helped redress e situation and after they came the facy began to work at full capacity.

Chinese workers took a mere two nths to build a garage and are now comting a hotel and a brick factory where y will work. They are also growing vegetles. They are very good workers. The Koans are growing cucumbers, which are in ort supply in the Far East.

Vladimir Popov believes that this form cooperation has been suggested by mmon sense and that it is mutually adntageous. It also brings the nations ser together, but although it seems tural, many are still unaccustomed to Hence, the difficulties that very often se from the inability of individual orhizations and officials to consider the tter impartially.

I wanted to know the Party secretary's tude to suggestions that foreign rtners may want to confine their imports from the Far East to fuel, raw materials and seafood.

"That is indeed so," Vladimir Popov says, "but what else do we have to offer? Up till now, the development of the Far East was geared to supplying raw materials to the industrialized parts of the country. Can the region realistically expect to play a different role outside this country? We have a machine-building industry, but its enterprises either work for defence, or are technologically uncompetitive. At the moment, our industry is incapable of manufacturing export products in sufficient quantities."

"Shall we continue to deal in raw materials?"

"In order to be able to export high-tech products, we must first obtain high technology, perhaps in return for raw materials. For instance, it won't pay to manufacture computers here, for a start, but it would pay to concentrate on processing timber, fish and other kinds of seafood at this stage. Appropriate technologies and expertise could be provided by Japan or South Korea. It's high time we gave serious thought to promoting our economic ties with that country."

Several days later I talked in Yuzhno-Sakhalinsk with Alexander Tokarenko, who heads the export-import division of the syndicate Sakhalinrybprom. He said that shrimp hauls are limited by the lack of advanced equipment, but a package of equipment designed to take in an annual 100 tons of shrimps can be purchased in Japan with the proceeds from the sale of 10-15 tons of shrimps. The syndicate suggested back in 1984 that this obviously profitable deal be concluded and since then it has been in correspondence with its superiors at the industrial and foreign trade ministries, because it has no direct access to the external market. Alexander Tokarenko is hoping that the matter will finally be settled now that Mikhail Gorbachev, speaking in Krasnoyarsk, has suggested among other things that the industries in the region be given direct access to the external market.

Over the first nine months of this year, 850 Japanese, half of them businessmen, have visited Sakhalin, according to the deputy head of the information department of the territorial CPSU committee, Victor Medvedev. He is also of the opinion that there is no time to be wasted in integrating Sakhalin into international economic cooperation. Inadequate services and lack of experience are no justification for delays. Foreign partners have been making very attractive offers and we must learn to evaluate them rapidly and skilfully and choose the best, rather than getting bogged down in interminable "coordinating."

Moscow does not see it all

The deputy chairman of the Khabarovsk territorial executive committee, Pavel Morozov, told me that technological progress notwithstanding, long distances have not grown shorter where economic management is concerned. Does it really pay to try and control the economic ties of the Far East from Moscow? Does it really pay to bring fruit and vegetables here from the European part of the country, or would it not perhaps make more sense to import them by sea from Vietnam, which is experiencing difficulties in paying for Soviet supplies?

A few years ago I stayed at the Latvian fishing commuity Roya, at what is perhaps the westernmost tip of Soviet territory. There was no fish caught locally in the store, but there was fish brought all the way from Sakhalin. Is there really no other way where planning is centralized? On several later occasions I was able to see for myself that there can indeed be no other way, but what appears to be quite reasonable in Moscow may seem utterly absurd in the Far East. It is indisputable that self-reliance in food is to be encouraged in every part of the country, but does it really make sense to concentrate on the production of meat in the Maritime territory, where conditions are unsuitable, and employ city residents for that

purpose, taking them off their full-time jobs, while meat can be obtained from neighbouring nations at much less expense? Why are the relevant decisions still made in Moscow, rather than in the region concerned?

The cruise ship Tridtsat let G.D.R. has been in operation on the Amur River for several years. She is an excellent ship, the best on the register of the Amur Shipping Line, but did it make any sense to put it into a dry dock and sea-lift it all the way here? (Ships of her class are not designed for marine voyages.) It would appear that the Ministry of the River Fleet of the Russian Federation in Moscow answered that question in the affirmative. The crew of the ship are paying for that decision now. The long haul by sea made their ship 20 per cent more expensive than those cruising down, say, the Volga, and the shipping line has to pay up.

I asked Captain Vasily Panyushev for his views of the ministry's guidance.

"We certainly feel its effect when the ministry decides to appropriate our profits, but when we apply to it for spares, for instance, the impression is that the ministry is not there at all.

Taking profits away, sending down a team of inspectors, or requesting a performance report seems to sum up the activities of the ministry. Is that the way to run the Far East?

Profits versus losses

In Vladivostok, I met with Igor Sukhachev, head of the Far Eastern economic department at the U.S.S.R. Ministry for External Economic Ties, and Valery Lozovoy, Director-General of the newly formed Association for business cooperation with the nations of Asia and the Pacific. Until recently Valery Lozovoy headed the company Dalintorg, and that was the reason why he considered an article carried on that day by the local newspaper Krasnoye Znamya a personal affront. According to him, the newspaper was unfair to Dalintorg, and unable to comprehend that the company put the interests of the state first. I had not read the article and his arguments appeared to be quite convincing. It was only later that I got to the bottom of it. The services of Dalintorg, it appears, are sought not because they are profitable, but because there is no other choice. Local enterprises as a rule have no direct access to the external market and they therefore have no other option.

My impression was that both Sukhachev and Lozovoy are aware that this is no way to do business. But what are the alternatives?

Here is a real life situation. A power transmission line had to be built across a virgin forest and trees were felled to clear the way. Nobody showed any interest in the felled trees and they could now rot away. A cooperative has decided to handle them. It wants to sell the timber abroad and spend the proceeds at its own discretion on the equipment and consumer goods it needs.

Whether this is permissible by law or not depends on who the felled trees belong to. The cooperative says that the timber belong to it, because otherwise there will be no use for it, but on the other hand, the felled trees are state property and they can only be sold if the appropriate state body gives the deal the go-ahead. As a representative of the Ministry of the External Economic Ties of the U.S.S.R., Igor Sukhachev should, it seems, favour that definition of the situation, but like anyone in his right mind he understands that if that procedure is employed the timber will be lost at no profit to anyone. When we met he was pondering the dilemma. I am sure that he will act as his conscience bids him to, but the dilemma between conscience and the letter of the law appears to be unnatural.

Hopes have been pinned on the Association for business cooperation with the nations of Asia and the Pacific and its Director-General Valery Lozovoy.

"It must not be allowed to degenerate into just another bureaucratic structure," he says. "At the moment we have only seven people on our staff and the head office is getting a face-lift. It has telephones and a telex line, but a classic bureaucratic structure has not yet been formed. I hope one will never emerge. The Association is planning to pay its way and return the investment put into it with interest. The Association will offer services to companies that are planning to establish business links, both here and abroad. It will do the blueprints for joint ventures. It has the resources to invite first-class expertise and reward experts according to their qualifications. These are good plans. The Association is different from other organizations of the kind in that it owes nothing and no one has any rights to it. It is self-reliant and has no chance of operating at a profit unless it arouses the interest of potential customers and justifies their expectations.

The joint-stock companies set up to date in the Far East did not have the benefit of the Association's advice. They are young, but still they are older than the Association. Some of them, like the Soviet-Japanese company Pilenga Godo in Sakhalin (salmon breeding and seafood) have a clear plan of action for the future, while others are still making plans. The future of each of them depends on their performance and the future of all of them taken together depends on how serious we are in using the Far East to establish really reliable and lasting ties with the nations of Asia and the Pacific. Our desire to do so has been confirmed at summit leve in no uncertain terms and it is high tim action was taken.

Expert opinion

I showed the draft of this article to Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R Academy of Sciences Dr Valer Chichkanov, an old acquaintance of min who has for many years explored pros pects for the development of the regio and its external economic ties. Here is hi opinion.

"Over recent decades the contributio of the Far East to investment on a nationa scale has been unacceptably low, unde three per cent. As a result, the nation fail to return its investment in the region. W must dramatically increase investment i order to create an advanced infrastruc ture and guarantee the residents of th Far East better living conditions com pared with the rest of the country. That i the only way to assure an adequate sup ply of labour. At the moment, as yo rightly point out, the reverse is the case.

"Where are the funds going to com from?"

"If only the billions spent every year o subsidies to the Far East were spent o attracting labour to the region! Havin been given travelling expenses, worker come here only to discover that the basi services are absent. It is only natural tha they don't stay long. If we carry on lik this we'll perpetuate irrational spendin and losses. International and inter-reg ional economic links should help u achieve a breakthrough."

"Can we pin any hopes on them, give their scale today?"

"Their present scale is peanuts, but we persist in implementing the prog ramme spelt out by Mikhail Gorbachev i Vladivostok and Krasnoyarsk we will b able to increase it considerably and effec a dramatic change in the nature of thes ties. It doesn't take a lot of expertise t sell fish and rough timber, nor does it tak a lot of wit to suggest that computer mar ufacture be started in the Far East fro scratch. You probably didn't realize whe you mentioned this idea in your piece tha such suggestions have indeed bee made in earnest. The most importan thing is to steer clear of conservatives a well as of hot heads, or once again we be losing money and wasting time."

"Are you pessimistic or optimistic?"

"I am cautiously optimistic. What di us more harm than anything else was un limited optimism for external consump tion and equally unlimited pessimism vo ced in our own midst. I do hope that thos times are over once and for all."

Alexander Gube

Concerning art critics

Leonid Ionin

At the time when Nikita Khrushchev came down upon the so-called abstractionists like a ton of bricks, and in the decades that followed when law-enforcement agencies often assumed art critics' functions with regard to avant-garde artists, there was nothing for it but crack jokes like: "Heard this one? Two plainclothes art critics called on an abstractionist the other day..."

Today avant-garde is "O.K." It has been given green light not only to Sotheby's, but to the Artists' Club exhibition hall in Krymsky Val, Moscow, as well.

Nevertheless, the yearning for active criticism, "criticism by force of arms," so to say, has not abated. Only now it is targeted on the individual and cooperated craftsmen offering their works for sale in Moscow's Rizhsky Market.

Not so long ago, a Krokodil magazine correspondent visited the Rizhsky Market and was shocked by the extremely low standard of the "objets d'art," souvenirs and household gadgets on sale there. (See issue 30, 1988.) He was outraged by skull-, fig- and bottle-shaped trinkets, labels showing half-naked "come-on girls" in suggestive postures, or purses and bags adorned with imitation Soviet and foreign bank notes. The correspondent was beyond himself with indignation. He reached for his pen, which turned out to be a militiaman's whistle: from the market he went straight to the office of A. Panin, Secretary of the Moscow Individual Enterprise Commission. A. Panin said that, most unfortunately, law was silent on that score, but suggested that the spread of bad taste among our compatriots should be arrested by administering control over self-exployed artists, preferably in the market. "This will be a supervisory rather than prohibitive measure," he explained. "I think that the revenue inspector and the militiaman on duty (sic) could determine the quality of the articles offered for sale and let us know whenever something offensive comes up."

The correspondent regarded this as "a half-way measure." Wouldn't it make more sense, he argues, to refer the matter to experts so that they could screen off hackwork right from the start, as has been the case before. Personally, what I like most about this phrase is the meaningful (and promising) "as has been the case before" part, although if one uses his imagination, one can arrive at interesting conclusions as to what "from the very start" means (from the artist's flat, perhaps?) and what kind of experts (plainclothes art critics?) the job should best be entrusted to. Numerous analogies suggest themselves in this connection, all the more so since the ill-fated abstractionists have not been members of the Artists' Union, as a rule, and, consequently, also fell within the "self-employed" category.

Jokes apart, this appeal to the administrative bodies to streamline the aesthetic standards of the population is alarming, because such appeals never fail to find an overzealous response, since an itch to ban remains, regrettably, a catchy disease in our society.

The evil done by prohibitive ideology manifests itself in many ways. Much has been said and written about this over the past few years, so I needn't elaborate. Dangerous enough in the economic and political spheres, bans are a thousand times more dangerous in the spheres where no objective and well-grounded verdict can be passed on the "quality" of a fact or an action. One of such spheres is that of aesthetic taste where all assessments are relative. Under the circumstances a ban is always arbitrary. The Krokodil magazine suggests that permissions and bans be based not on laws or instructions defining "contra-indications" in definite terms, but on subjective opinions voiced by a militiaman, a revenue inspector, and any suchlike expert automatically credited with impeccable taste. No matter what rung of the administrative hierarchy this expert is on – be he even a minister or a super-minister – and no matter what an infinitely respectable institute he represents, a ban in the sphere of imaginative art will always be an arbitrary act on his part.

This is not to say, of course, that well-grounded judgements in this sphere are out of the question. What's more, such judgements are most useful as the groundwork upon which to build a system of education, persuasion, propaganda and ideology. They must not, however, be used as a justification for banning or permitting anything.

As I pondered over the theme of prohibitive action, I recalled a passage from Vladimir Nabokov's famous novel "Invitation to a Beheading." The wall of the prison cell in which the hero of the novel languishes is graced by "The Eight Rules for Inmates," neatly framed, one of the Rules saying: "It is desirable that the inmate should not have at all, or if he does, should immediately himself suppress nocturnal dreams whose content might be incompatible with the condition and status of the prisoner, such as: resplendent landscapes, outings with friends, family dinners, as well as sexual intercourse with persons who in real life and in the waking state would not suffer said individual to come near, which individual will therefore be considered by the law to be guilty of rape."

This seems to be an absurd formula, at a first glance. But if one can insist on bans in the field of artistic taste, and demand that such bans be legalized, why not extend this practice to the sphere of imagination and dreams? Such is the logic of banning which can result only in an absurd world turned topsy-turvy.

Frankly, I am not too happy about the skull-shaped trinkets, "bank note"-decorated shopping bags and other specialty goods found in the Rizhsky Market. But I also hope that the time of "plainclothes art critic" is past. A free man should have the right to his aesthetic likes and dislikes.

"Up!"

That short exclamation at the Leningrad Fur Auction was echoed several months later at the auction in Frankfort on the Main.

West German businessmen examining the pelts

TASS photo

"Furs, like tea and flowers, horses, and works of art are traditionally sold at auctions," said Yuri Mashkin, Director-General of Soyuzpushnina, the Soviet foreign trade organization dealing in furs. We talked to him during the 110th International Fur Auction held in Leningrad at the end of October in the solid four-storey building on Moscow Prospekt erected especially for auctions about half a century ago.

But before describing the auction itself, what is sold there, how, by whom the goods are bought and for how much, I should like to recall a man I met thousands of kilometres from the Auction Hall.

The construction of the Baikal-Amur Railway was then only in its early stages. At the northern tip of Lake Baikal the builders were laying the foundations for the future station and town of Severobaikalsk, a mere 30 kilometres from the district centre. Not a particularly great distance, but a nightmare for travelling, especially in the winter. Builders on their way to the district centre would leave in land rovers equipped with spades and other instruments and the warning: if we're not back by a certain deadline, send out a cross-country vehicle to our rescue. Once, on a bitterly cold Siberian day, travelling on that road that was (by car of course) we met a man walking on his own, carrying nothing but a briefcase, like any businessman on a city street. "Perhaps he needs help?" was the first thing that came to our minds. "Certainly not," laughed our travelling companions. "That's Volodya Konoshonkin, a hunter from a traditional trapper's family. He can cope with anything. He spends weeks on end in the taiga tracking his quarry." And indeed, when we offered him a lift, Konoshonkin just shrugged – if you like, he seemed to be saying. We, of course, were curious as to what he carried in his briefcase. The hunter was a man of few words and replied: "A Zaporozhetz car." Was he joking? Not at all. He was carrying squirrel, ermine and sable pelts. Very valuable things. But, as I realized after meeting the Baikal hunter Volodya, it was only people with a high degree of courage, endurance and perserverance who could do what he did.

I understood that then, and recalled it when I was examining the goods at the Leningrad Fur Auction. It's hard to describe them. One can perhaps find words for, say, one particular fur coat (the coats are made of fur, while professionals call the raw materials from which they are made pelts). But where to find the words when these pelts will – in the future, naturally – be turned into thousands upon thousands of such coats, capes, hats? So all I can do is list them. Mink of twelve different colours and shades. Squirrel, hamster, red and silver fox, wolf and glutton pelts... An entire hall devoted to karakul. Or take an ermine pelt – in size just slightly larger than a pen case, but costing dozens of dollars. You find lynx here and pony pelts, as well as polar fox of different shades. And all this wealth hangs in clusters along lines that stretch for hundreds of metres.

But these are not actually the goods themselves. There are pelts in such quantities that neither five, nor 25 halls would accommodate them. The goods are kept in special warehouses at the port. These

re only samples, exact samples down to he last hair of a certain lot of pelts. So ow many bags have been collected here f the kind the Baikal hunter was carry-ng?

"We are not accustomed to measuring n bags," the Director-General said with a mile. "What you described as clusters re known in the trade as bunches, each onsisting of 25–30 pelts. The next unit of neasurement is a lot, consisting on aver-ge of 10 bunches. I should like to point ut that only 14 per cent of the pelts are rovided by hunters, the rest come from ne fur farms. This proportion is dictated y the special programme for protecting orest fauna and the environment as a hole."

"How many pelts are sold at the auc-on?"

"Sometimes more than three and a half illion. Leningrad, along with Leipzig, elsinki, London and Copenhagen, is of major world fur trading centres. And e of the oldest."

Speaking of the history of the fur trade, ri Mashkin went back to the time of eter the Great. I was prepared to dis-te his chronology and to back up my ew I should like to quote the birch-bark essages of the ancient town of Nov-rod. One of them speaks of some thing lled a "moskotye" and the need to pro-ct it from "khor." The distinquished ar-eologist Valentin Yanin deciphered this mean that furs needed to be protected om moths. Pelts, he explained, have een part of Russia's export trade from ne immemorial. What's more, they were ed as money. The Arabian traveller Abu amid al-Gharnati, who made the jour-ey to Rus in the 12th century, wrote that counts for trade operations were set-d in squirrel pelts tied together (a sort bunch) and "each bunch of 18 pelts s the equivalent of one dirhem..." at's how far back the roots of the fur ction go.

But of course it is not past history, how-er interesting, that attracts modern yers from all over the world to Lenin-ad, but the quality and quantity of ods. As a rule more than 300 represen-ives of the fur trade from more than 30 untries arrive in Leningrad three times year. The biggest Western firms are presented either by the owners or their ents. Many of them have been coming Leningrad not just for years, but say for cades. At one of the auctions I met a nadian Harold Zelfond, already in his venties. The owner of a firm, he can be garded as something of a patriarch of auctions.

He explained that he had dealt in furs since the age of 16. Up to 1940, he worked for a wage, then began to trade on his own. He first visited a Leningrad auction in 1961. Ever since, his business has greatly improved.

Speaking of business, the Canadian took out a piece of paper which listed his purchases and totted up their value in the old manner.

"This time," he said, "I bought more than half a million dollars' worth, of which 328,000 I spent for myself, and the rest was bought on behalf of eight other firms."

Experts regard purchases on behalf of other firms as recognition of the reliability and prestige of the Zelfond company, although he is far from the biggest buyer. Among the top firms are such old companies as Hurwitz Furs Ltd. of London, whose operations at the Leningrad auctions run into millions of dollars. At the latest, 110th auction, the company's purchases amounted to 1,024,000 dollars. Alex Bernacki, the company's young broker, said, not without pride, that on good days the company buys up to 20 per cent of all the mink pelts. How many is that in exact figures? Well, enough to make about 6,000 fur coats.

At this point I feel I must reassure readers who are disturbed that such riches are leaving our country: only 15 per cent of the national output of furs is available for export, and the rest remains for home consumption. Incidentally, the businessmen through whose hands this wealth of fur passes are themselves dressed modestly – or, at least, they wear nothing out of the ordinary. Few wear fur coats, except perhaps Zelfond. One of his competitors once asked him jokingly whether he wore it as an ad. The Canadian replied: "No, it's the weather and my age," thereby as much as saying that his commodity needed no advertising.

That becomes evident when you visit the hub of the auction. The auctioneer's table is surrounded on three sides by rows of seats filled with businessmen. Some are a bit nervous, others absolutely calm. Information on each lot is shown on the screens of telemonitors. And that is when the cries of "up!" start to come from the benches as the bids increase (special catalogues provide information on what each "up" equals).

But if that one word suffices in the broker business, the range of gestures is limitless. Brows are raised in silence – for competitors are always on their guard – a pen may be waved, or a pipe moved from one corner of the mouth to the other. None of this will pass unnoticed by the auctioneer.

The last "up" is heard, and then down comes the hammer and "sold" rings out. Experts know that in a few months' time at international fashion fairs – the most prestigious of which is in Frankfort on the Main – these pelts will appear as fur coats and wraps or stoles. ... I was told of a case when a sable coat was gone there for 350,000 dollars. Six months earlier at the Leningrad auction the sable pelts had started of at 600 dollars each and in a matter of minutes soared to 1,700 dollars and been sold at that price.

The bidding for each lot takes a matter of minutes. But those minutes are preceded by long hours spent in the display halls studying the samples and making complicated calculations of the highest price to offer and to whom to resell later. And then, like a chess player, the broker has to go through all his figures again at home.

A broker only gets to bed well past midnight, Alex Bernacki told us, but has to be up by seven in the morning.

He showed his notebook with the list of cities where auctions are held and their dates. This revealed that between December and April, he can count on only three weeks at home.

Despite the tight schedules during the auction, many of the businessmen who are not visiting the Soviet Union for the first time, manage to squeeze in some sightseeing. It turned out that John Geraghty, owner of Pel-Traxx of Copenhagen, and I have a common hobby – the study of ancient Russian monuments. He spoke with enthusiasm of his trips to Novgorod and Kizhi. At this point I again remembered the Baikal trapper Vladimir Konoshonkin. He had told us of how he once acted as a guide for three Western tourists who had come to Siberia for some hunting. Had Geraghty ever travelled to the places where his goods came from? Would he have liked to go out hunting with the local trappers? It seemed that such an opportunity had never come his way, but he would have jumped at the chance. He had never even heard that it was possible. Nor, unfortunately had other fur merchants I spoke to. Why not give businessmen the chance get to know our country better, and see for themselves the forests from which their merchandise comes? Perhaps from the commercial point of view such trips would not play a particularly important role. But there are also other interests, ordinary human interests...

Mikhail Kushnir

The turn towards political realism

What is the effect of the present international climate on the situation in the Asian-Pacific region? How is Mongolia developing her relations with neighbouring countries?

Tserenguin GOMBOSUREN, Mongolia's Minister for Foreign Affairs, speaks on these and other issues to our correspondent.

New Times. You have recently returned from the U.N. General Assembly in New York. Before that you attended the Conference of Ministers for Foreign Affairs of the Non-Aligned States in Nicosia, Cyprus. You had meetings and discussions with a number of prominent politicians and diplomats. How do you assess the situation in the world today? Do your opinions and assessments coincide with those of your colleagues in other countries?

Tserenguin Gombosuren. That is a difficult question which I find very hard to answer. I think, however, that on the key issues most of the people I've met recently have fairly similar views. The U.N. General Assembly session, the Nicosia conference and other meetings have convinced me of the existence of growing appreciation of the fact that we all have a common destiny, of the interdependence of nations and the necessity to resolve the burning issues of our time on the basis of constructive cooperation and mutual respect for the legitimate interests of all sides.

To my mind, this turn towards political realism is directly linked with the positive developments that have been taking place round the world. The political atmosphere is becoming healthier, and mutual understanding and confidence between East and West are growing. The threat of nuclear war has been reduced. The first steps have been taken on the way to real disarmament. There are hopeful prospects for the solution of regional conflicts. The Soviet-American dialogue has acquired new features, becoming more dynamic and stable. I would say that the Soviet-American interaction is generating many positive changes on a global scale.

But, while duly appraising the current positive changes, we must note that the situation in the world is still very complex and in many aspects contradictory, which is, naturally, mirrored by various current views and assessments.

For example, plans for "compensation" through the qualitative development of both nuclear and conventional weapons are being advanced by the advocates of the obsolete concept of nuclear deterrence. There are still people who think that it is the policy of strength that has brought about the positive changes we are witnessing in the world today. They refuse to cognize that, having once triggered off the unrestrained nuclear arms race, the policy of strength has made the world a nuclear hostage. It is not a policy of strength, but a policy of reason and realism that will guide humanity towards a nonviolent and secure world.

Different approaches are also displayed when it comes to the "star wars" programme, the talks on deep cuts in strategic offensive forces and the implementation of the proposal to set up World Space Organization.

There are different opinions as to how the world's security can be guaranteed. We think security must be all-embracing. As we see it, the system of security must include mutually complementary aspects – military, political, economic, humanitarian and ecological. In other words, we must have a comprehensive approach to the problem. This is the position of the Mongolian People's Republic. This is the essence of the proposal to establish comprehensive system of internatio peace and security put forward by t socialist countries. And I'd like to stre once again how encouraging it is th more and more states with different s cial systems are beginning to share o point of view, that more and more poli cians and public figures are supporti the idea.

N.T. Let us now move on from glob issues to the problems of the Asia Pacific region. Four decades ha elapsed since September 1945, when t Second World War ended. All that tim however, regional conflicts have be flaring up around the world. These co flicts have not spared the Asian-Paci region. What measures do you think c be taken radically to improve the situ tion? What steps in this direction a being taken by the Mongolian People Republic?

T.G. The situation today in the Asia Pacific region defies clear-cut evaluatio Two opposing trends are simultaneous developing here. On the one hand, some countries of the region there is s political and military instability. The U ited States continues to deploy its nu lear missiles, including sea-based crui missiles. Naval activitites continue to a gment. The conventional arms race is s in progress. Moreover, the countries the region have many urgent soci economic problems that have to be so ved.

These facts testify to the complexity the situation. However, the overall tren towards a healthier political climate ha not failed to effect Asia. The Geneva a cords on Afghanistan, improved Sovie American relations, the signing of the IN teaty and latest developments in Europ are commonly recognized as havin favourably influenced the situation Asia.

N.T. Is Europe setting an example?

T.G. You could say that. Of course th European experience cannot be transfe red wholesale to other regions, b Europe is setting an example. The prob lem of postwar borders has been settle in Europe. In accordance with the Sovie American INF teaty, an extreme dangerous class of nuclear weapons being withdrawn from Europe and d stroyed. Different confidence-buildin measures have been elaborated and a being implemented. Talks on reducin armed forces and conventional arm ments are under way. We are witnessin the extension of ties between memb countries of CMEA and the Commo Market, between these two communitie

short, we can say that the first stones ve been laid in the foundation of a com- n European home. In this aspect our gion is considerably behind.

However, this is understandable. Post- r Europe has not seen national libera- n struggles or civil wars, or lived ough the painful process of decoloni- ion, nor does it carry the burdensome acy of colonial and semi-colonial de- ndence. European countries do not ve the substantial differences in nomic and cultural development and ng standards that exist in the Asian- cific region, where the poverty of some tions continues to be a festering und on the body of humanity...

N.T. Is the appreciation of that we all are a common destiny winning support he Asian-Pacific region?

T.G. Yes, there has been a considera- change for the better. The reasons for at are numerous, but I would like to em- asize the significance of the new politi- thinking and the new Soviet policies in international arena. The Vladivostok ogramme put forward by General Sec- ary Gorbachev in 1986 is playing an portant part in this process. The search solutions to regional problems has en stepped up. We are all familiar with results: the external aspects of the Af- anistan problem have been resolved, Iran-Iraq hostilities ended, and agree- nts on normalizing the situation with gard to Kampuchea were reached at informal meeting in Jakarta. Hopes a possible dialogue on the Korean ninsula have appeared. We can say at the trend towards national reconcili- on is becoming an important feature of political situation in Asia.

The new Soviet initiatives recently put ward in Mikhail Gorbachev's Kras- yarsk speech are in the spirit of the w political thinking. These initiatives velop the Vladivostok programme and aimed at lowering the level of military confrontation in the Asian-Pacific region, broadening good-neighbourly relations between nations and consolidating peace and cooperation in Asia. We are especially happy about the deepened dialogue and improved relations between the Soviet Union and China.

Our policy is based on the belief that the interests of peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region demand an active search for ways and means of coordinating the efforts of all countries in the region.

Mongolia has persistently and consistently favoured greater confidence and cooperation between Asian states and strives as far as possible to promote the objective of universal security in Asia.

inese folk dancers and singers performing in Mongolia for the first time in ars

Photo from Mongolia magazine

This dictated Mongolia's initiative directed at the creation of an international mechanism to rule out any possibility of the use of force between the countries of the Asian-Pacific region.

N.T. You have emphasized the importance of the extended dialogue and improved relations between the Soviet Union and China. What about the relations of People's Mongolia with her neighbours?

T.G. With regard to Soviet-Mongolian relations, I would say they are developing successfully in all spheres. These relations are characterized by sincere and stable friendship, mutual assistance and absolute mutual understanding and confidence. In line with the policy of perestroika and renewal under way in both countries, the fraternal cooperation of our parties, states and peoples is becoming more dynamic and fruitful. The perspectives and priorities for bilateral cooperation were defined in the agreements concluded at the meeting of Mikhail Gorbachev with Jambyn Batmunh and in such important programmatic documents as the Long-term programme for the development of economic, scientific and technological cooperation up to the year 2000, the concept of foreign economic affairs up to the year 2005 and the programme for deepening cooperation between the CPSU and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in the ideological, cultural, scientific and educational spheres.

It often happened in the past that we spoke a lot about cooperation without actively substantiating it, though everything seemed correct from the political point of view. Today we are working together to resolve both our immediate problems and those we have inherited from the past. We have defined the priority directions of our joint efforts in agriculture, light industry, food production and other areas, and in the development of the fuel, energy and mining base. We have set ourselves the objective of switching over from the processing of raw materials and the production of semi-finished goods to the production of finished goods and creating the potential necessary to meet Mongolia's domestic demand and boost accumulation and exports. The effectiveness of direct industrial, scientific and technological ties and the activities of joint ventures is today being assessed more thoroughly.

When it comes to our relations with China, I would say that there are positive changes here as well. Thanks to the bilateral efforts, our relations are being normalized. Commodity circulation has increased. Scientific and technological cooperation has been renewed and, contacts between public organizations are developing. We also maintain exchanges in culture and sport.

The role of political contacts and bilateral dialogue is growing. There has been an exchange of delegations at the highest legislative level. At the U.N. General Assembly, the Foreign Ministers of Mongolia and China met for talks. I think that by promoting mutual confidence and cooperation we shall go a long way toward bringing our relations back to normal.

China is one of our two socialist neighbours, and we want to have good relations with it and to cooperate in many different respects, in particular in the efforts to promote peace and security in the Asian-Pacific region. This perspective, I imagine, is in line with the aspirations of both the Mongolian and Chinese peoples.

N.T. In conclusion, let me go back to my first question. What feelings have you brought back with you after your long journey?

T.G. I would say a feeling of increased optimism. Despite the diversity of approaches to resolving the urgent problems of humanity, I think the world community today is dominated by the tendency to seek a common language and a balance of interests. This enhances confidence in the fact that the new political thinking is bound to produce appreciable results in attaining an improved international situation.

Interviewer
ALEXANDER DIDUSENKO

Pluralism rehabilitated

Leonid Yagodovsky

Until rather recently, quite a few notions, such as self-government, national model, contradictions, competition and many others – let alone pluralism – have been considered inapplicable to socialist society

Most of our dictionaries define pluralism as false idealistic world outlook which, as distinct from monism (dialectical materialism included), holds that the world consists of a multitude of self-contained entities independent of one another. More serious publications elaborated on this definition adding that the notion of pluralism was used by modern revisionism with a view to sneaking into Marxism-Leninism the denial of classes and class struggle, the dictatorship of the proletariat, the Communist Party's leading role, and so forth. In a word, this term, derived from "pluralis," which is the Latin for "multifarious," was regarded as all but a swearword.

By any means...

Indeed, what kind of pluralism could there be in a situation where the classics had already mapped out the only possible road to a happy communist future, and there was nothing for it but to obediently follow their instructions? The instructions had to be interpreted only the way "the genius of all times and nations" had prescribed. In a society cast, as if in bronze, in the standard Stalin mould, any multiformity was out of the question. It was believed necessary to lay the groundwork of socialism by any means – violent mostly – which meant the forceful elimination (by the "punitive sword of the revolution") of any non-socialist structures, including the small-scale commodity production, and socialization of producer goods (meaning making them state property). It was all simple and crystal-clear: exploitation of man by man was to be smashed at one blow, the market and money-commodity relations were to be actually abolished, productive forces were to be brought into perfect harmony with relations of production for all the time to come, the period of transition from capitalism to socialism was to be brought to an early completion, and then a straight and not too long road to communism was to be embarked upon. A well-balanced and efficient mechanism was to be built up to accomplish all these tasks under the control of central party and government bodies which would issue wise and solely correct directives as to how to deal with all socio-economic, political, cultural problems without exception; the monolithic and united party of Communists, the vanguard of the proletariat and of society as a whole, would express the common interests of all the people rallied around it "more closely than ever" and exercise its unlimited control by means of the "levers and drives" – trade unions, the Soviets, cooperatives, the Young Communist League; in the ideological sphere, Marxism-Leninism would reign supreme.

It is all very efficient and clear-cut, isn't it, with everyone supposed to toe the Party line and with any dissidence regarded as anti-socialist activity with all the ensuing consequences (remember the above-mentioned "punitive sword"?). Soviet society was squeezed into this pattern, spellbinding by its irrefutable logic; subsequently it was extended to the countries which had joined the "socialist camp" after World War II (except Yugoslavia which balked at the prospect and was "excommunicated from socialism" by the notorious decision of Cominform as a result).

Cracks in the monolith

The first deep cracks appeared in the monolith in the mid-1950s, following the 20th CPSU Congress. The 1956 events in Hungary showed that attempts to hang on to the stereotyped system may cause a deep political crisis. The subsequent successes achieved there in the dynamic consolidation of society came from such innovations as discarding the practice of overcentralization in the political and economic spheres, modification of the relationships between the party on the one hand, and state government bodies and public organizations on the other, the encouragement of open large-scale discussions of any problems, the recognition of the need to take into account the real existence and the likely clashes of group, local and other specific interests.

The conference of representatives of Communist and Workers' Parties held in 1957 made a resolute stand for the Leninist principle of variety of different countries' roads to socialism.

Further quests for new ideas and persistent efforts to overcome the social scheme of things inherited from the 1930s, which had failed to work, continued in a number of socialist countries, as the Soviet Union, beginning with the mid-1960s, was plunging ever deeper into stagnation. These active quests materialized in economic reforms which restored upset balance between the relations of production and productive forces and which offered, in particular, a higher degree of independence to production plants by substituting various economic levers for directives submitted from above. As they deepened, the reforms promoted the spread of more flexible approaches to forms of ownership, the combination of planning principles with the use of commodity-money, market relations, income differentiation, optimum sizes of production units – all of which, under any name, meant movement towards economic pluralism.

Until the mid-1980s, our country stood practically aloof from such processes. What's more, quests of this kind – be it in Hungary or Poland, Yugoslavia or China – were looked upon with suspicion and sometimes regarded as all but the restoration of capitalism. Such an attitude was largely due to the fact that the building of socialism was still considered unthinka-

A youth meeting in Poland: passions are running high

ble without the administrative command system of managing the economy and society as a whole. The objective existence of different, even clashing interests was denied with a tenacity worthy of a better cause.

The internationalist essence of renovation

April 1985 became a turning point: the CPSU changed to a new strategy line. An ever more penetrating analysis of previous development now under way in our society is of paramount importance; it comprises a sober-minded and objective assessment of the results achieved, reveals the opportunities we have missed, as well as deep-rooted delusions and tragical miscalculations and mistakes committed in the past.

Such a difficult, sometimes agonizing but absolutely inevitable process of summing up the past record has as one of its consequences a programme of action based on a growing awareness of close interconnection and interdependence of radical transformations in the econommic, social and political spheres. The key components of the programme include the emphasis on the need for genuine people's rule, the establishment of which presupposes recognizing the existence of, and taking a new look at, the interaction among different forces found in society. Hence the renunciation of the vulgar interpretation of pluralism, current until quite recently, and the attempts to determine the forms of its manifestation in the process of socialist upbuilding.

Perestroika is no Soviet monopoly. More or less analogous reforms have been launched earlier and are now in progress in a number of fraternal countries, which goes to show that renovation of socialism is an international process. Naturally enough, it rules out the black-and-white vision of society, i.e., its division into the adherents of socialism (meaning the above-mentioned "monolithic" social structure) and its enemies (that is, all the rest).

Scientists and politicians are still to sort out these problems as they gain relevant experience. Quite a few ideas meriting attention are around already now. In a number of socialist countries researchers speak – with good reason, in our opinion – of several interconnected aspects of the problem under consideration. First of all, they recognize **social pluralism** – the objective existence of various classes, strata and groups each pursuing its own interests.

Second, there exists **economic pluralism** which means various forms of ownership, material and technical supply, production and distribution patterns. These forms are to be allowed to freely compete with one another on equal terms, efficiency being the only criterion to judge them by. Quite a number of difficult problems arise in this connection. Such, for instance, as the permissibility of private ownership on a scale calling for the use of hired help, and the limits to be set to its employment. In this case too efficiency

ought to be the chief criterion. The need now is for such an economic mechanism using which socialist ownership (state, cooperative, etc.) could utilize the advantages inherent in it and prove its superiority to private enterprise with all the other conditions being equal. Should the latter prove more efficient in any particular case, the answer should lie in correcting the faults of socialist ownership rather than in banning private enterprise. The same applies to competition between state and cooperative sectors, and so on.

Third, certain researchers (Polish ones, for instance) speak of **conceptual pluralism** which consists in the existence, alongside Marxism, of other ideologies, such as various religious views, petty bourgeois and other world outlooks. As evidenced by the record of many countries (specifically, by the tragic events in Hungary in the 1950s), ignoring this fact and the ungrounded monopoly of Marxism only go to aggravate the situation. The fact that Marxism is not universally accepted, the Polish scientist L. Grzibowski writes, cannot be explained solely by the so-called inertia of thinking. "This is chiefly due, among other things, to the mistakes and deformations in socialist upbuilding which cause a gap between the ideas of socialism and social reality and cause prerequisites for a departure from these ideas." Such a statement of the issue, which one cannot but agree with, suggests that one of the prime tasks now is to eliminate the said mistakes and deformations. It is this, rather than the unconvincing "arguments" of administrative coercion, much favoured by bureaucrats, that is the main guarantee of the ultimate triumph of Marxism in its competition with various world outlooks now existing in all the socialist countries without exception, whether this fact is recognized or not.

Finally, there is **political pluralism** which is the biggest talking point of all. This is actually the problem of forms in which the diversity of social and economic structures and ideologies should be reflected in the political system. Writing in the paper Nepszabadsag, Janos Berecz, member of the Politburo of the Central Committee of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, points out in this connection the need not for mere modernization, but for internal restructuring and a radical transformation of the system which took shape in the 1950s and which has come down to this time practically intact. "This transformation," he maintains, "boils down to building into the system efficient institutions of socialist political pluralism."

Most authors treating of this problem in Hungary, Bulgaria, Poland and Yugoslavia agree, on the whole, that it is necessary to broaden the limits of competitiveness and overcome bureaucratic centralism which leads to pernicious uniformity, work out such a decision-making mechanism which would take various views into account and guarantee all sides (the minority included) a chance to set forth their position and to persist in it even after a decision is adopted. All this equally applies both to the Communist Party and to society as a whole. Most believe that an unlimited diversification of the links of the political system is unavoidable, just as the emergence of ever more formal and informal organizations expressing different specific interests. Freedom of self-expression is demanded for any forces which accept the national programme of socialist upbuilding and are prepared to take an active part in public life.

The Communist Party and society

A question arises in this connection: what role is the Communist Party to play under such pluralism, and whether a multiparty system is possible under the circumstances. Notably, the fraternal parties in all the countries where such problems are discussed regard the keeping of their leading role in society (given, of course, a radical revision of the forms and methods of leadership) as a vital condition of strengthening the people's rule and carrying on socialist upbuilding. It is often stressed at the same time – and justly so, in our opinion – that this role should by no means be used for securing by Communists (let alone the Party cadre) of any privileges and that in general it should not be guaranteed once and for all but gained by concrete action, by the practical performance of the functions of the "motive force" of social progress. As for the second part of the question, the view now predominant in the countries with a historically established one-party system is that changing this situation would be to no purpose. (This does not exclude other viewpoints, and not only in the opposition quarters, either.) Things, however, are different in Poland where the traditional United Peasants' and Democratic parties supporting the line and recognizing the leading role of the PUWP have become markedly more active of late. Within the framework of the concept of socialist pluralism, seen as "unity in multiformity," "a platform on which citizens holding different views uphold the most important national values together, and which serves to promote the integration of society rather than to perpetuate the existing differences," the present political leadership of Poland recognizes the need for forming a democratic model of power presupposing a coalition.

In the space of a magazine article it is impossible even to touch upon all the aspects of the complex problems involved in the idea of socialist pluralism. I have only attempted to get to the root of the matter and to show, at least in outline, the diversity of approaches now emerging in socialist countries.

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JUNIOR WORLD

What's wrong with the Academy

"This is a true drama, with the clash of characters, the sharp struggle between the old and the new, and radical shifts in mentality. This is what should be written about. Nothing is more inspiring than the drama of real life," Mikhail Gorbachev said of perestroika in his Der Spiegel interview.

One act of this drama that we are currently watching is the struggle to renovate the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences.

The nucleus of the Academy is made up of educationalists and psychologists. However, the very recent, fifth, issue of the journal Voprosy Psikhologii (Problems of Psychology) notes in the editorial the regression of psychology as a science right across the board in this country, be it a question of personalities, intellectual potential, knowledge of world psychology, the fundamental character of the problems tackled, performance, or its prestige in the academic world and in society generally.

Now that is what is being said about psychologists. What can we say about pedagogy, which has descended still lower and which is so deeply bogged down in scholasticism that when schoolteachers were polled about their attitude to the output of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences, they could only grimace.

What has really happened to the Academy? Something very commonplace. The untalented have won out over the talented. I was told once about a ten-year school lost in the backwoods all of whose teachers had had only five years of schooling. How had this happened? The answer was simple. It appeared that a person with six years of schooling had been appointed as school principal.

We cannot even imagine how low the academic level is of the people who set the tone for the educational management of our schools, perhaps the very school to which my reader sent his children this morning. Nobody wants to understand that. Everybody thinks that the academy is staffed by professors or academicians. Just as none of us thought that the first secretary of a republican Party Central Committee could be an embezzler, or a regional Party committee secretary a bribe taker.

Pedagogy is in the hands of people selected over the decades in line with the "whom-do-you-stand-for?" principle. Now, don't imagine that these are superannuated old fogies. On the contrary, they are extremely energetic and persuasive, and are supported by long lists of scholarly publications. However, their main field of action is neither in libraries nor in schools, but in Comrade Big's office, and the pages of their departmental journal, whose editor is one of the gang. This is an arena in which everybody else is the loser. Every challenger is soundly whipped.

It is easy enough to see that pedagogy here is at rock bottom. Take any effort by any academician specializing, for instance, in the theory of education – of course, not Sukhomlinsky. Open it at, for instance, page 48, and read the second paragraph from the top. You will have the choice of a quotation, a truism, or an absurdity. Nothing else. Then open it at page 56 or page 156, and read the fourth paragraph from the top, or from the bottom. Everywhere you find the same picture.

The bill we may present to the Academy for the books that have not been written is still harsher. It has already been said that we do not have a single decent textbook in pedagogics, that this subject is hated most at teacher training colleges. (Can you imagine would-be teachers detesting pedagogics from the student bench?) Nor do we have a single book on the theory of education or related methods suitable for practice or theory. We do not have a single book on didactics written in understandable human terms. The same goes for the psychology of pedagogics.

But the worst thing is that we do not have, either now or in the foreseeable future, youthful educationalists who have made a name for themselves. It is said of 30- and 40-year-old psychologists that they comprise a "lost, disoriented and neglected" generation.

"Why are you taking up arms against the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences?" I am asked. "Don't you have any pity for its members?" But what about the children? Or our country's future? The Academy's institutes have a total staff of more than 1,500. There certainly must be some gifted researchers among them. However, they must be allowed to show initiative.

"You are against science," they say. Nothing of the sort. It is the leadership of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences that is fighting against pedagogy today. Meanwhile the Academy's critics are taking up cudgels for the science, as our schools will not be able to advance without it.

At long last the powers that be heeded the voice of public anger. Following the criticism aired at the Central Committee Plenum in February, the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers resolved to reorganize the Academy. A special commission was set up and now the papers it has drawn up have been published.

I really don't know what to say. The mind boggles. After all the sound and fury again the same old words about the all-round harmonious development of the human being, on-going education, "decisive reorientation" and "a long-matured objective." However, the Academy itself remains intact, with only the usual by-elections to vacant seats in which the old membership will again have the casting vote. We know whom they will elect. One can easily imagine what all those "centres," which the commission has slated, will become. And everything in haste, so as to confront the upcoming December Teachers' Convention with a fait accompli, to shield the Academy from criticism, as it will now have been "renovated" and "reorganized."

Such is the penultimate act of the Academy drama. We do not so far know what the finale will be. Perhaps we should accept Professor Yuri Azarov's proposal? He wrote: "The Academy of Pedagogical Sciences gets an annual subsidy of twelve million rubles. If it is necessary to keep it going, for decency's sake, then allot it no more than ten million. Spend the remaining two million on the schools themselves. In six months we will be having tangible results." New good textbooks, for instance.

Simon Soloveichik

The pogrom

Heinz Knobloch

Baseness, fear and anger. And, even in times of greatest evil, preserving one's humanity...

I remember that cloudy November morning. The customary route from home to school. The holes in the shop-windows on the corner of Belle-Alliance-Strasse. Broken glass crunches under one's heels but nasty big fragments are swept out of the way to make the road safer.

At twelve years of age we did not give much thought to it and at school it was passed over in silence. In narrower circle, expressions more of surprise than protest were heard later on: "Oh, so that little shop also belonged to a Jew?"

Every language can be expected to have contributed at one time or other to the spread across the world of its own untranslatable word. Such words point to the origin of the idea expressed. The Germans put into circulation the word "blitzkrieg," the Americans "computer" and "cybernetics," the Russians gave us "sputnik," "glasnost" and "perestroika," and, much earlier, the word "pogrom," which means "devastation," "destruction." Dictionaries and reference books give the following definition of the word: "An organized massacre and looting of helpless people, originally of Jews in Russia." Until the time when this word came to describe national socialism, it reminded us of the outrageous and bloody persecutions of Jews in Odessa in 1821, 1859 and 1871, in Elisavetgrad in 1881, in Rostov in 1883, in Kishinev in 1903. Over 800 people were killed in 1905. In the period between 1917 and 1921 over 30 thousand Jews died, mostly at the hands of the White Guards, and the same number were wounded. According to other estimates, the figures are much higher. Under Lenin these practices were put an end to and Jews for the first time became citizens with equal rights.

The persecution of Jews is a centuries-old phenomenon, a disgrace shared by many nations. This in no sense diminishes the guilt of the Germans, of which we are reminded, 50 years after the event in this year of 1988, by the date November 9.

The culprits, the spectators and those who looked the other way are still alive. "Don't make yourself an eyewitness," a matron at a Catholic hospital told a young junior nurse, who had leaned out of the window to look at the fire.

"That the pogroms were 'an outburst of popular anger' is a malicious lie. They were duly masterminded, organized and carried out under the direct guidance of national socialist fuhrers,"– Rudolf Hirsch and Rosemarie Schuder, the authors of a collection of essays examining "the roots and consequences of the persecution of Jews in German history" write in their book "The Yellow Stigma." The book has become a best seller and interest in such books is growing. Recently "The Night of the Pogroms in 1938" appeared, written on the basis of vast factual material, the result of serious reflection by Kurt Pätzold, the well-known historian of the persecution of Jews, and Irene Runge, born in an émigré family in New York.

* * *

The persecution of Jews started immediately after Hitler came to power. They were harassed, tormented, tortured and killed.

The order issued on October 27, 1938, announced that all Jews who were Polish citizens resident in Germany be im-

mediately repatriated to Poland. These Polish Jews were mostly refugees who had fled Poland on the eve of, during, or just after the First World War. They had fled from persecution to Germany or Austria. But in that autumn of 1938, Poland abandoned these people, who were driven by force across its frontier...

The Grynspan family had lived in Han-

over for many years. Their son Herschel was born there, but the Grynspans had not succeeded in obtaining German citizenship and like 27 thousand other Polish Jews, they were suddenly deported to Poland.

Meanwhile, the Polish government, a dictatorship with obvious anti-Semitic sentiments, issued a decree whereby citizens who had lived abroad for a long time could be stripped of Polish citizenship. In essence, it was a blow dealt to the Jews. Expelled by the Germans, repudiated by the Poles, these people, having found themselves between state borders, as it were, sought mercy and shelter.

Seventeen-year-old Herschel Grynspan, who lived in Paris in hiding had his own ideas of how to protest against his family's deportation. He made up his mind to shoot the German ambassador. On November 7 he purchased a revolver and set out in the direction of the German embassy. There he was received by Ernst vom Rath, 29, the third secretary at the embassy. Grynspan shot and fatally wounded the diplomat, who died on November 9.

Herschel Grynspan's shots – people say he survived the war – provided a long-awaited pretext for the action that the Germans had characteristically prepared to the last detail.

* * *

Reports from German newspapers:"Berlin, November 10. As everywhere in Germany, there have been bitter anti-Jewish meetings. The windows of Jewish shops have been smashed in many places. The goods remain untouched..."

Untouched? On the same day the Nazi Economics Minister Funk complained to Goebbels of the damage done. General-Fieldmarshal Goering stated: "I wish you had beaten 200 Jews to death instead of destroying such assets."

The conference presided over by Goering passed a resolution on November 12 that the Jews "in reparation" for the murder of diplomat vom Rath should pay one billion Reichsmarks to the state.

The pogrom proved a profitable enterprise.

Here is what happened in the field of culture: Hinkel, the Reich's cultural chief, called in the Jewish Cultural Board and informed them: "From now on Jews are forbidden to go to public theatres, film showings, concerts and cabaret performances."

The Jewish Cultural Union was an association which had been allowed to exist following the boycott of the Jews on April 1, 1933, when 8 thousand Jewish actors, singers, film and stage directors and musicians, were dismissed from their jobs. Theatre critics were not allowed to go there, while information on the activities of the union was unavailable, except to Jewish journalists writing for the Jewish press.

The union's theatre opened in Berlin on October 1, 1933, with a play by Gotthold Ephraim Lessing, "Nathan the Wise." The play accorded remarkably with the spirit of the time and the events, the more so as 1933 marked the 150th anniversary of the first performance. The jubilee went effectively unnoticed by all German theatres.

"Nathan" has always been a pillar of strength to German Jews, who came to believe that the full realization of the ideas Lessing preaches in the play was only a matter of time, writes Herbert Freeden, an eyewitness of Nazi times, in his book "The Jewish Theatre in Nazi Germany."

Why did the Nazi authorities allow this cultural union to exist? They wanted foreign countries to see how much "freedom" and "tolerance" the nazis showed the Jews. The cultural workers, rounded up in one place, found themselves in a sort of "cultural ghetto."

The members of the Cultural Union were not guaranteed against pogroms. Many of them disappeared to concentration camps. But since the Cultural Union was to work to allay awakened public opinion in the Western countries, the Jews had to perform. Some actors were released from camps at unearthly hours of the night.

Following rehearsals, they produced "Rain and Wind," a Scottish student play. Freeden has this to say: "At home women were anxiously waiting to hear from their husbands and sons, at home people were trying to organize their life on the ruins that had been left to them, and here, in the Jewish theatre the lights were on again. By order." Performances attracted very small audiences, including three Gestapo men.

Then the Jews were banned from German cinemas. They now needed a Jewish cinema, which was allowed to show German and foreign films. It opened one and a half months after the night of the pogrom with the American film "Chicago." There is a clipping from a Jewish newspaper that has survived from those times, the title of the paper and the day of issue not yet established, carrying a review that should be read, through the eyes of a person living in 1938, with awe for the unknown writer and the courageous editor: "A certain city is entirely ablaze, but the firemen just look on without turning a hair. Fire hoses are unrolled and connected, ladders are put up, fire pumps are ready, but no one starts to extinguish the fire. The firemen are awaiting instructions. And so the city burns to the ground and the firemen are ordered to return home.

"'A monstrous fantasy? A wicked lie?'

"'No. The Truth. And it happened in Hollywood...'"

Idle firemen?

One photograph has been printed and reprinted in publications the world over: a blazing synagogue in Oranienburger Strasse in Berlin. White clouds of smoke issue from the three windows above the front door. The enormous cupola is on fire. The photograph became a universal symbol of November 10, 1938.

Much later, as evidenced by surviving eyewitnesses, the text underwent some changes. The photograph is of a

synagogue in flames after a raid by the British air force on November 24, 1943. But this same synagogue also burned on November 10, 1938.

Chief Rabbi Martin Riesenburger said in 1957 in his memorial sermon: "Tongues of flame rose to the sky from our synagogues, our sacred Torah scrolls with the words: 'love thy neighbour as you love thyself,' were defiled and burned by the thousand. Jews were thrown out of their homes and sent to concentration camps... But lo and behold, morning came, and in the only synagogue in Berlin the great temple on Oranienburger Strasse, in the smoke of the fires before the desecrated Ark the eternal flame was still burning."

How had it happened? The famous synagogue had not escaped the anti-Semitic raid. Storm troopers had burst into the synagogue and started to set to fire the vestibule. An unknown person rushed out to inform the local police, at police station 16, on Hackescher Markt Square. The superintendent, together with all available policemen, hurried to the spot and turned out the hoodlums.

The synagogue, consecrated on September 5, 1886, had been under the protection of the state since the time of Kaiser Wilhelm I as an architectural monument. They say that the superintendent had the relevant decree with him. But he also had a pistol in hand to direct fire-engines to the synagogue, where the wedding hall was already ablaze. The fire was put out. Presently, after the debris had been removed and restoration work had been carried out in the spring of 1939, services resumed there.

The fact that the German police opposed the crimes of pogrom night deserves genuine respect.

In an express telegram to the Gestapo and the security police SS Gruppenführer Heydrich said "the police should not raise obstacles in the way of demonstrations taking place." "Jews' houses and shops are permitted to be destroyed but not looted." Simultaneously, early in the morning the pogromists were informed that the Reichs justice ministry had instructed prosecutors "not to take any investigative measures with regard to the anti-Jewish actions."

Inge Deutschkron tells: "Hell reigned in the streets of Berlin. The storm troopers easily recognized Jewish shops, which had earlier been marked with special signs, smashed shopwindows with axes and clubs and demolished everything that came their way. Lootings added to the picture of devastation and violence... We knew that all the synagogues had been set fire to, as the radio announced, 'in an outburst of popular anger,' and had been burned to the ground. Police and firemen looked on idly and only kept gapers away from the burning houses."

At seven in the morning Ruth Andreas-Friedrich opened her door to Dr Weissmann, the lawyer. He was completely exhausted; he had been beaten up, and his coat had been torn. He asked for help: "We have been hunted like animals..."

"And the police?"

"The police are looking on. They won't interfere and they allow everything that burns to be set fire to and the nazis to kill those who are meant to be killed."

Heinemann Stern caught sight of the burning synagogue on Fasanenstrasse in the morning: "Clouds of smoke burst from the windows and the cupola, the street was chockablock with fire engines, but they stood idly by... How thoroughly things have been prepared and organized – like everything in this country!" Heinemann Stern was a director of the Jewish boys' school in Grosse Hamburger Strasse round the corner. The school remained untouched. It was located on the territory of police station No. 16...

I first read about the courageous policeman in 1983. In a large publication, "Synagogues in Berlin," Hans Hirschberg goes into detail. His parents owned a dressmaker's shop at No. 89, Oranienburger Strasse, not far from Hackescher Markt Square. "One evening late in October 1938, when it was already dark, the police superintendent called on us. We didn't even know who he was, as he was wearing plainclothes. He was with his wife and he ordered a coat for her, which was at the time a great risk for an official. But he gave us his address and thus we discovered his identity. My parents were very surprised and even a bit frightened. This reaction was quite natural, because no Jew then wanted to have anything to do with the police. They got into conversation: my father had been decorated in the First World War, having fought as a volunteer from 1914 to 1918. I also remember what he said when he was leaving: "Herr Hirschberg, you needn't worry. When we receive the arrest lists (it had all been planned already, though no one had any way of knowing how convenient November 9 and 10, 1938, would turn out to be for the purpose), I'll phone you, and you can take the train and go somewhere so as to disappear from four in the morning till about nine. But don't be afraid, Herr Hirschberg, I'll warn you in good time."

On the morning of November 10, Hans Hirschberg arrived at his school in Grosse Hamburger Strasse. There he learned from his schoolmates who had passed the burning synagogue in Fasanenstrasse on their way to school what had happened during the night. On that day the authorities closed down the school. "In the evening my father was informed by telephone that we should leave home. We spent the whole day in commuter trains, from early morning to 9 or 10 in the evening. We constantly changed trains and lines, thus avoiding a likely arrest."

In Kaiser Wilhelm Institute, Berlin, people were tested for "Aryan descent"...

Approximately a week after the pogroms, the superintendent came with his wife for a fitting. Through an open door the boy heard him telling his parents about extinguishing the fire in the synagogue. "So thanks to courage and firmness on the part of the policeman, who was a decent person, the synagogue in Oranienburger Strasse was saved, at least for a time." Hans Hirschberg is sure that not every police station was a nazi stronghold; some police officers were favourably disposed to the Jews.

"I made up my mind to do my best to find

out his name. Who if not he deserves the gratitude of our memory? After several years of unsuccessfull research I printed the story in the regular column 'We are all eyes' I was editing at the time in the G.D.R.'s daily Wochenpost. Two readers answered me. One said that at the end of the war he had seen the superintendent killed in a metro station. The other called me up and said: 'He was my father!'"

His name was Wilhelm Krützfeld. He was born in 1880 in Schleswig-Holstein, in a village bearing the same name as the capital of the country, Berlin. He served as a policeman in the capital and rose to the highest rank possible for him in his career – that of inspector. Under Hitler the system of ranks underwent changes, and in the rank of Oberleutnant he became head of police station 16, located at No. 1 Hackescher Markt Square.

His son Artur recalls that previously his father had been chief of the police station in Rodenbergstrasse. Once the commander of the local storm trooper unit warned him not to send a patrol to Wichertstrasse in the evening. There on the corner with Dunkerstrasse, was a

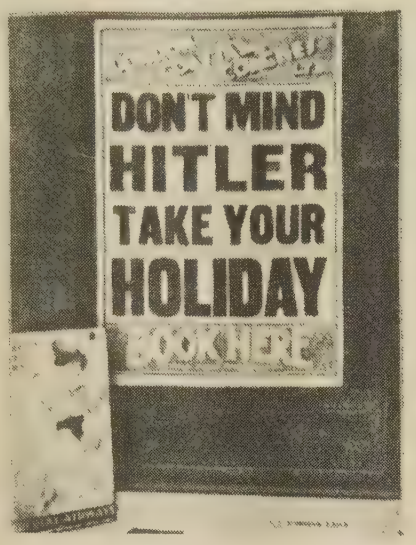
A typical anti-Semitic poster showing the enemy image created by Dr Goebbels' propagandists.

small restaurant 'Sport-Casino' owned by a Jew named Berger. Though Krützfeld did not send a patrol, he visited the place himself in good time and warned the restaurant's owner. What the storm troopers were planning to do was a violation of law, and he was not going to tolerate it in the area under his supervision. All his life he remained politically unaffiliated, but he adhered to views which could be described as German-nationalist.

The storm troopers arrived several times, each time to find the doors and windows of the restaurant tightly closed.

With the same outlook on life, Wilhelm Krützfeld found himself with his men before the burning synagogue that morning and compelled the incendiaries to flee. Next day the Oberleutnant was summoned to the Polizeipräsident of Berlin, Count Helldorf and reprimanded for "suppressing the manifestation of the healthy popular will." Then they started a transfer game with Krützfeld, and in 1942 he had to resign "for health reasons." At just that time the deportation of Jews began in Grosse Hamburger Strasse.

Wilhelm Krützfeld settled in his home



A British travel ad issued in summer 1939. To paraphrase, "Let's live today and may the devil take tomorrow."

land, Schleswig-Holstein, where he survived the war, and later returned to Berlin. He lived in Berlin until his death in 1953. After the war he would tell his sons about the past, but never spoke highly of his own actions and never let others do so. What can truly be described as a heroic deed was a norm of behavior for him.

When I wrote about it in Wochenpost in the summer of 1988 I received a letter, from a young Jewish woman in the F.R.G.: "How monstrous all this is: firemen turned accomplices of incendiaries, and only one man found the strength in himself to compel them to put out the fire in the face of the authorities. What force guided this policeman? His own moral code? His highly Prussian sense of justice? What went on within him then? His behavior is an example of genuine humanity in that world of cruelty and bloodthirst. Indeed, he wished the Jews well. But wouldn't he do the same thing if he were a police superintendent in Soweto? I imagine he was thinking of a human being as such, and only afterwards that he was a Jew. He was able in the highest measure to express his freedom since he regarded the freedom of others as inviolable."

So the name of policeman Wilhelm Krützfeld went down in the history of what was once the most beautiful synagogue in Berlin. On November 9, 1988, by the ruins of the synagogue, people gathered for a memorial meeting. On that day they began to restore the synagogue. When this historical monument of Berlin has been restored it will receive a new lease of life.

In the restored synagogue the spirit of its traditions will be restored as well. It will be more than a house of prayer, it will be a temple of remembrance and reunion, a reminder and a warning. It will also be a research centre with a museum and library. The new synagogue will also play a part in restoring and preserving the biggest Jewish cemetery in Europe, Berlin-Weissensee, as well as other memorials of Jewish history.

At a memorial meeting organized by the National Council of the G.D.R. National Front, Siegmund Rotstein, President of the Jewish Religious Communities of the G.D.R., stressed: "We are raising generation after generation of people in the spirit of disgust for racism, chauvinism, anti-Semitism and war."

The memorial performance of "Nathan the Wise," which 55 years ago inaugurated the Jewish Cultural Union Theatre, was a solemn occasion in the Deutsche Theater in Berlin on November 9, 1988.

After Germany's delivery from fascism "Nathan the Wise" was the first performance of the Deutsche Theater , two of its members having worked underground during the war. Once again they will call for tolerance and humanity. As Georg Zivier said in 1971: "We would like, if not to predict, at least to hope that in the foreseeable future a time will come when it will be difficult to make young people understand what 'anti-Semitism' is about."

An exhibition has opened in Berlin, whose motto comes from a poem by Erich Mühsam, who died in a concentration camp: "Teach them to remember..." It is the most remarkable Jewish thematic exhibition since 1929 (when the work of Moses Mendelssohn was commemorated). In the foreword to the catalogue, Siegmund Rotstein cites an old Jewish maxim: "To forget is a crime against memory. To remember is to live."

BERLIN

Photos from the book "Deutsch Chronik 1933-1945" (G.D.R.)

Back home, to the Taganka...

Our own correspondent in Sweden talks to artistic director **YURI LYUBIMOV**

New Times. Over the next ten days, the Taganka Theatre of Moscow will be coming to Stockholm. Let us begin our discussion with this.

Yuri Lyubimov. Touch wood and keep your fingers crossed. I do hope that "Boris Godunov," which is to be staged here, will arouse interest. The production and the tour are in response to a recent Moscow performance of Stockholm's Fria Proteater. It is one of my most recent works at the Taganka. It is very important for the Taganka because the theatre company has been trying to find a new aesthetic identity after nearly 20 years of work. Where theatres and dogs are concerned, this is old age. We tried to reach maturity in other productions, but almost all of them were banned then. The banning of "Boris Godunov" was the culmination.

N.T. But times have changed, and this year you managed to complete the work you started six years ago.

Y.L. I spent ten exhausting days in Moscow in May. I completed "Vysotsky," a play that was to have been staged on the first anniversary of Volodya's death, but that was also banned. Nikolai Gubenko and I revived "Boris Godunov," but my commitments in the West prevented me from being there on the first night. Thank God, the situation in my home country is entirely different now.

N.T. You are directing Mikhail Bulgakov's "The Master and Margarita" here at Stockholm's Royal Drama Theatre. I have also heard of plans to make a TV film on the basis of the production.

Y.L. The play will be staged on December 10, just before the arrival of the Taganka Theatre, which I am very much looking forward to seeing again. It will be a very important reunion, because when the TV film has been completed I will be returning to Moscow. This time I will be staying for a long time. I have received an official invitation, but for the time being I will be working on a contract. I know it may sound odd, but that is how it is going to be.

N.T. I understand that there will be two productions.

Y.L. The first play is just like vintage brandy, the ill-fated "Alive" by Boris Mozhayev. The play was published back in the early 1960s in Novy Mir, a journal that has always provided an outlet when our cultural life was going through hard times. It is nearly 20 years old, I mean my production of it, but each time I tried to stage it a banning order followed and I was given the sack. Each time I enlisted the support of my good friends and wrote all kinds of letters, which reached their addresses and I was reinstated, but the banning order was never lifted.

N.T. Why was it so out of place then and why is it so interesting now?

Y.L. The high artistic standard of the play explains this. Like any true work of art, it gave rise to many generalizations and provoked thought. As the late minister of culture said, "what kind of a scandal is this? Foreigners won't even have to come here. They can just as easily see this play and have the whole picture before their eyes. It must be taken off immediately."

N.T. You are recalling Ekaterina Furtseva, aren't you?

Y.L. Yes indeed. She treated me with sympathy on many occasions. I say this not because it is a sin to speak ill of the dead, but because she could indeed act generously on occasion. I remember such moments of generosity on her part. The next minister of culture kept giving me hell.

N.T. What will your second production in Moscow be?

Y.L. We have not made the decision yet, but there is a good chance it will be Dostoyevski's "The Possessed." The great writer does not require any superlatives from me, but I have a feeling that Leo Tolstoy made a mistake when he described the novel as a lampoon that would soon go out of fashion. It is a very important, accurate and penetrating work. Written in the 19th century, it is still relevant today, just as "Boris Godunov" is.

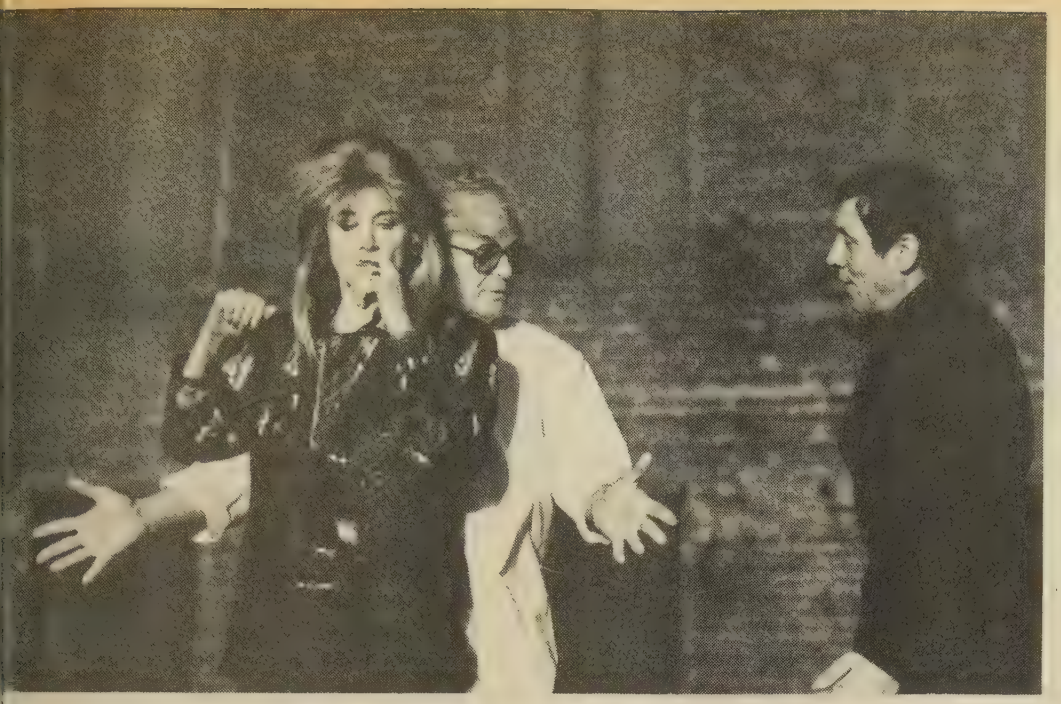
N.T. It may seem to many that the selection of "Boris Godunov" for a drama production is risky. Attempts of the kind have been made from time to time, but with little success.

Y.L. That is indeed amazing, but at the same time understandable. Strange though it may seem, that great work by Alexander Pushkin is little known in the West. The opera has sometimes been staged but the play never really got off the ground. Productions of it have been very cumbersome, too much attention to the exotic and too many costumes of Russian noblemen, but very little of Alexander Pushkin's aesthetics. In his notes Pushkin asked us not to forget that the action in his play must move fast from a tavern to a city square, and from the city square to the tsar's chambers. He asked us to recall the antique theatre, masks and double parts. I believe that Pushkin was a supporter of Shakespeare's theatre. Pushkin had read all Shakespearean plays in the original, it is a fact, although a little known one.

N.T. In Moscow, you will again be working with your own company, who never abandoned you when the going was hard and who value and love you still. I know that many people were hostile to Anatoly Efros, who took over from you at the Taganka Theatre. They even wrote four-letter words on his sheepskin coat. How do you explain that?

Y.L. Well, writing four-letter words is petty hooliganism. As far as contacts between company and director go, there can be no ready-made formula here. The Taganka is a very special theatre for me. It emerged from a graduation production of my students, and I directed practically every one of its productions. Their repertoire still largely consists of my productions.

Anatoly Efros encountered many problems and there are various explanations for them. I am an old man and I myself invited him on one occasion to stage "The Cherry Orchard," and I believe I have good reason to say that he was making a mistake when he accepted the post of director of the Taganka. He should not have done so because he sensed that the actors would not accept him. The company were hoping, as the then minister of culture had promised, that I would return after receiving medical treatment. But the ministry changed its mind and announced that Anatoly Efros would be appointed the Taganka's director. As always happens in these circumstances,



May 1988. Yuri Lyubimov directing a rehearsal at Taganka. "Boris Godunov" is back.

TASS photo

he consequences were lethal for the heatre and tragic for Anatoly Efros.

N.T. Does this mean that only Yuri yubimov can be director of the aganka?

Y.L. We all are mortal, people and heatres alike. Theatres are born and heatres die. Another man will come and here will be a different theatre, but it has lways been the case that a theatre is nked with the name of a certain director. uffice it to recall the theatre of Mayerhold and the theatre of Vakhtangov. The Taganka would have been a different theatre had Efros not died. It would have acquired a different kind of aesthetic and a new face. The Taganka is its "director's own theatre." I hope the actors won't take exception to this; after all, they know that Vysotsky described his songs as the "writer's own songs." I adapted the plays and staged them largely myself, but in close contact with the authors and composers, Yuri Trifonov, Fyodor Abramov, Alfred Schnitke and Eddison Denisov, to name just a few at random. The theatre brought together an excellent group of musicians, authors and critics. Our discussions were so stormy and acrimonious at times that the talking-to we used to get from the Ministry of Culture seemed like peanuts.

N.T. What can you say about your work here in the West? After all, that kind of collectivism is absent here. You have staged many plays at different theatres, has that pace had an adverse effect where Yuri Lyubimov the director is concerned?

Y.L. Life here is very tough and everyone must look for a place of work and decide how he should work for himself. I was asked that question in Moscow, and the impression is that some people think everything is heaven-sent in the West. I answered in good faith: life is hard there. In order to make a decent living, a director must stage at least four plays at reputable theatres a year. That is very hard work.

N.T. Do you manage to keep it up?

Y.L. I do but, again, it is hard work. My experience helps me, though. After all, I staged my first production abroad twenty years ago. I went to La Scala after the personal intervention on my behalf on the part of Enrico Berlinguer.

The experience of directing the Taganka Theatre is also very useful. I am familiar with all aspects of the work and I feel I can assume full responsibility for my productions. Here in the West, if you are given a job, you bear the responsibility for it. Nobody else will have to answer for it.

N.T. You lived 66 years in the Soviet Union and you have been in the West for five years. You will come to Moscow on January 23 and stay until the Taganka's 25th birthday on April 23. What about your family?

Y.L. I will be going to Moscow together with my wife Katya and my son Petya, who is now 9. He left Moscow at the age of 4. He will find it hard to use written Russian because he only speaks Russian to me. Katya speaks her native Hungarian and her favourite language, Italian, to him. He learns English at school. That problem will also have to be dealt with. The Taganka Theatre has rented an apartment for me in a neighbourhood where there is a specialized school where the teaching of English is emphasized.

The theatre will take up most of my time, but I do hope I'll be able to get a good idea of the changes that are under way. There is a lot more sincerity in the arts today, judging by Tenghiz Abuladze's film "Repentance" and Anatoly Pristavkin's book "A Golden Cloudie Spent the Night..." I will breathe the Moscow air again.

Formally I will be returning only to the Taganka Theatre because the decree stripping me of Soviet citizenship still stands. My arrival in Moscow in May was a truly amazing event, a man stripped of his citizenship arrived and was accepted. I was profoundly moved by the attitudes of friends, relatives and the company.

N.T. Few people are aware of the circumstances under which you left the Soviet Union.

Y.L. There was nothing fishy about my departure for Britain. In 1983 the Ministry of Culture sent me there on an assignment to stage "Crime and Punishment." In London I gave an interview to The Times in which I criticized the Ministry of Culture of the U.S.S.R. and called it a "ministry of unculture," perhaps too angrily. A row followed. The Soviet embassy demanded that I leave for home immediately. I refused to go and requested leave for medical treatment. They gave me permission to stay, but then I was expelled from the Communist Party and stripped of Soviet citizenship. There was nowhere I could return to after that.

Yuri Andropov helped me on many occasions with my theatre, but when he died the campaign against the theatre and its director took a new turn. Even before I left for England officials had hinted that I was free to go to the West. If you don't like the way things are here, they said, go to the West and stage your plays there. They are not needed here.

N.T. I can understand that you were hurt, but how is one to interpret reports in the Western media quoting you as having said that you were afraid "KGB agents were after you."

Y.L. That is a classic example of editorial dishonesty. Somebody started a rumor: Lyubimov is afraid of the KGB. It takes very little effort to do a thing like that, really. They patched a few reports together, gave it all an eye-catching headline, and the job was done. I had to refute the reports and the newspaper offered its apologies. I must tell you that I am not a timid man and I have defended my principles in art for years.

Believe me, this calls for a lot of courage, the more so as you get a lot of talking-to at all levels.

N.T. Right now you are staging "The Master and Margarita," and it would be quite appropriate to recall the famous Cat Begemot, who went on record as saying that a mortally wounded cat can only be saved by a swig of neat petrol. What will help you in your trials and tribulations?

Y.L. A breath of the Moscow air. In spite of the fact that I must honour my commitments under contracts here in the West, I am very much looking forward to going back home to the Taganka.

Alexander Polyukhov
STOCKHOLM

The three thousand speeches Democratic Senator **William Proxmire** of Wisconsin has made in 30 years in Congress in support of the anti-genocide convention have eventually culminated in the U.S. becoming a signatory to the convention, which has, incidentally, already been signed by 97 countries.

President Harry S. Truman was the first to submit the convention to the Senate for consideration. At the time Nazi atrocities were still fresh in people's minds throughout the world. The convention refers to genocide as an attempt to destroy a demographic, ethnic, racial or religious group of people, and makes it binding on states to prevent such actions and mete out punishment to those guilty of the crime. Conservative senators have constantly opposed the convention, fearing that it might be taken up by the black minority, while Proxmire, when addressing sessions, would invariably start to speak with a call to sign the convention.

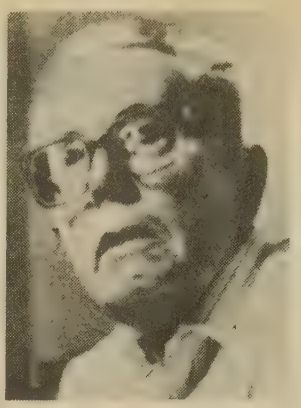
William Proxmire was born in Lake Forest, Illinois, in 1915. He took his B.A. degree at Yale University. At Harvard, he received the training in sciences essential for a businessman. In 1957 he was elected to the Senate to replace the notorious Joseph McCarthy.

It is much easier to recall the occasions on which the Senator voted **against** during all those years, U.S. newsmen believe, than those on which he voted **for.** There is no doubt, however, that all these years William Proxmire has been coming out in favour of the convention and against genocide. Now that he has attained his goal, he can leave politics...

* * *

Maurice Allais of France has won the 1988 Nobel Memorial Prize in Economics. He is the first French national to win the award (instituted in 1969), which has been a predominantly American preserve for most of the past 20 years.

Maurice Allais, 77, is a Professor at the Ecole Nationale Supérieure des Mines in Paris and is regarded a father figure of French economic science. According to Jacques Levy, principal of the Ecole Nationale, "he was the mentor for everyone involved in the economy in post-war France, all the people who were in charge of the biggest enterprises and of the state planning apparatus."

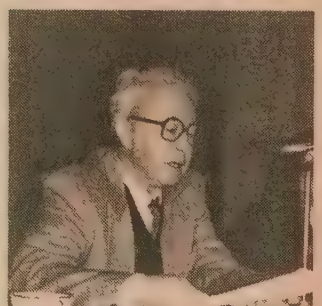


The Nobel Prize was awarded to him in recognition of research he has been doing for more than 40 years.

Much of his research involved models setting optimal prices, and taxes on state-supplied services like electricity, and designed to match resources most efficiently with supply and demand. All these models were widely used by France in the state economic sector in the 1950s-60s.

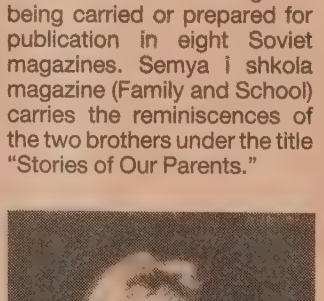
According to Paul A. Samuelson, the American economist who won the Nobel Prize in 1970, "a number of things we had to discover, or rediscover, were already contained in writings by Maurice Allais, as for example, the so-called Golden Rule, which says that the rate of in-

The brothers Medvedev



Roy Medvedev, the philosopher, teacher and historian, author of "Let History Judge," (a book dealing with the roots of Stalinism published abroad and soon to be printed in this country), has recently been in the limelight – he is constantly being interviewed and invited to speak at various gatherings. Novosti Press Agency has concluded a contract with him for the exclusive rights to the book: "Leonid Brezhnev. A Political Portrait."

Roy Medvedev graduated from the philosophy department of Leningrad University. He worked for some time as a secondary school principal and a teacher of history. In 1959-62 he was deputy Editor-in-Chief of Prosveschenie (Enlightenment) Publishing House and in 1962-71 worked at the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences. He started writing his book on Stalin in 1962. In our issue No. 32/88, Roy Medvedev tells the story of how he was persecuted and expelled from the Party. In the past two decades he has had 25 of his works published in the West. At present, Medvedev's writings are being carried or prepared for publication in eight Soviet magazines. Semya i shkola magazine (Family and School) carries the reminiscences of the two brothers under the title "Stories of Our Parents."



Zhores Medvedev, the well-known scientist, the author of works on gerontology, biochemistry and genetics, is a Great Patriotic War invalid. In 1962 he wrote his "Essays on the History of an Agrobiological Debate" in which he bitterly criticized Academician Trofim Lysenko. The book was published in the West under the title "The Rise and Fall of T.D. Lysenko." Confined to a mental asylum in 1970, Zhores Medvedev was later released. He speaks of all this in the documentary story "Who is Insane?", co-authored with his brother Roy.

In the meantime Zhores Medvedev continued his research. The Agricultural Academy sent him on a mission to England for a year where he learned a few months later that he had been stripped of his Soviet citizenship. Nevertheless he went on with his activities at international scientific forums, some of them in the U.S.S.R. to which he sent his contributions.

At present, Zhores Medvedev works at the National Institute of Medical Studies in London, where he writes on problems of gerontology, biochemistry and genetics. He is also busy working in social and political journalism, and has published a number of essays on Soviet farming and science. In later years he wrote the biographical notes "Andropov" (1983) and "Gorbachev" (1986) which have now appeared in print for the third time in various countries.

terest should be zero to achieve maximum per capita consumption."

Maurice Allais is the son of a Paris businessman. He trained first as an engineer but later studied physics. He visited the United States during the Great Depression in the 1930s and turned to economics after seeing factories idle and people out of work...

* * *

The Nobel Prize in medicine and physiology has been awarded to Gertrude Elion, 70, and Dr George Hitchings, 83, both from the U.S., and James Black, a 64-year-old pharmacologist from Great Britain. The two American winners are well known to AIDS researchers. The prize was awarded to Gertrude Elion and George Hitchings for the development of antiviral preparations that help effectively neutralize the herpes and AIDS viruses, as well as for evolving medicines for the treatment of leukemia and fighting the rejection of transplanting organs.

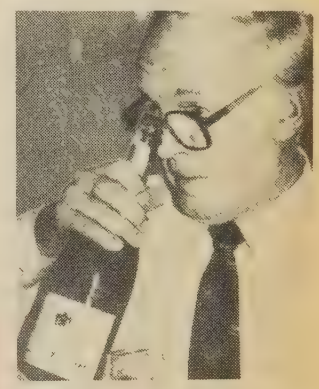
* * *

Gertrude Elion was born in New York and graduated from New York University. In 1944 she began working in a research lab at Burroughs Wellcome Co., North Carolina, and since 1983 she has been a Professor of Pharmacology at Duke University.

George Hitchings was born in Hoquim, Washington, graduated from Washington University and received his Doctor's degree at Harvard. He taught at Harvard and Western Reserve University. In 1942 he started working for Burroughs Wellcome Co. He is a Professor at Duke and Brown Universities.

Late in the 1970s American scientists managed to synthesize acyclovir, a medication which has been used since 1984 for the effective treatment of herpes,which affects 60 per cent of the U.S. population. This success was followed up by Gertrude Elion and Dr George Hitchings, who developed azidothymidine (AZT), the only remedy so far that helps AIDS patients.

This outstanding achievement is, in a sense, a "side effect" of research carried out by American chemical engineers. The original goal of their research was studying the chemical processes in nucleic acids that are capable of stopping the growth of various types of cells and viruses. The U.S. pharmacologists have developed a number of preparations for the treatment of leukemia and malaria and for fighting the rejection of transplanted organs.



James Black comes from Scotland. He received his B.Sc. in medicine and surgery at the University of St. Andrews, Scotland. At present he is employed as a Professor of Analytical Pharmacology at a clinic of London University.

In 1964 James Black discovered the beta-blocker propranolol which could effectively be used in the treatment of heart disease. The remedy is used to block the stimulating action of adrenalin.

Bengt Pernow, a Nobel Assembly member, believes that Black's research findings are the most important achievement in cardiological pharmaceutics since the discovery of digitalis 200 years ago...

In 1972 the British pharmacologist developed cimetidine, a preparation for the treatment of stomach ulcers.

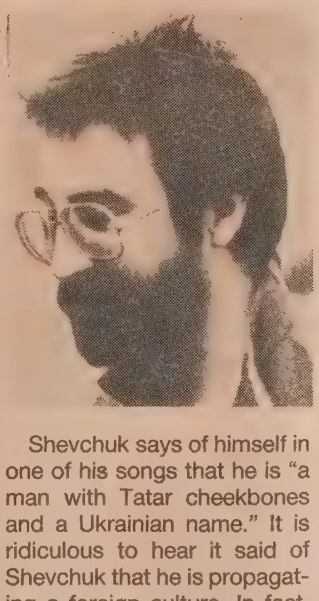
* * *

A symbol of Russian rock

This is how **Yuri Shevchuk**, , soloist of the group DDT om Leningrad, is often referd to in the West. Yuri atnded the graphic art departent at a Teachers' Training stitute, and later found a job a school of painting. His ortraits shown at a city exhibon in Ufa were a success.

Shevchuk had a more than ppy start to his career as a nger; he won a prize at the -Russia political song festil in 1980 and a Golden Tung Fork, the Komsomolskaya avda prize, in 1982.

Once a local cultural adnistrator suggested he sign paper which read: "I hereby dertake never again to write sing songs, and do everying in my power to prevent em from further circulation." mebody called him a Vatin agent. Shevchuk left Ufa, ed in Moscow for a time and en went to live in Leningrad.



Shevchuk says of himself in one of his songs that he is "a man with Tatar cheekbones and a Ukrainian name." It is ridiculous to hear it said of Shevchuk that he is propagating a foreign culture. In fact, rock is not the first form of music to have been assimilated in Russia: all forms of classical music and even the "folk" dance quadrille were originally imported. Far from destroying our culture, they enriched it. Rock music, however, is particularly frowned upon. Some claim that a few dozen young boys who have neither professional musical training nor natural talent could turn this country into musical province of the U.S. They also believe there is little that the Composers' Union or the State Committee on Radio and Television can do to prevent it. National culture is promoted not only by those who merely call for the preservation of traditions, but also by those who contribute to its development. Social rock definitely has a role to play in the contemporary development of music and youth culture in general, and Yuri Shevchuk is one of the movement's recognized leaders.

Y. Shevtsov

The man who saw the invisible

Alla Gracheva

Pavel Filonov, one of the boldest innovators in early 20th-century painting, is among the last to come back from oblivion. No other leader of Russian avant-garde was baited so ruthlessly in his lifetime, and ignored so totally after his death.

His work, revolutionary in its very essence, which he selflessly dedicated to his country and which didn't earn him a penny (the artist declined to sell a single picture even in the leanest of years) was branded counterrevolutionary.

Filonov's one-man show, to have been arranged in the Russian Museum in 1929, stood ready for its varnishing day for eighteen months, but was never opened. Ivasenko, deputy director of the Museum, "explained to Party quarters that Filonov's art was a negative phenomenon, that it was incomprehensible." Filonov, who dreamt of "great popular proletarian Bolshevik art" was excommunicated from it by a stroke of the civil servant's pen.

Said Anatoly Lunacharsky: "Filonov is a great master. His art is difficult to understand, but this detracts nothing from his greatness. Some day he will become a pride of the nation." Isaak Brodsky wrote a letter to the Krasnaya Gazeta newspaper in defence of Filonov's exhibition and of Filonov himself. But all that was of no avail.

"A negative phenomenon"

In 1929, the year of "the great turning point," it was not only farming which fell victim of arbitrary rule. The Artists' Association of Revolutionary Russia made fierce attacks on "formalists," and Filonov's fate was sealed.

This year, almost six decades later, the Russian Museum and the State Tretyakov Gallery after it, introduced the public to Pavel Filonov and his works have made a sensation. Even against the background of the huge wave of the avant-garde of the twenties and a plethora of new art trends which have emerged over half a century since then, Filonov's work remains a mighty Gulf Stream influencing the climate of entire modern art. This is a natural phenomenon, a pictorial explosion. It is a whole school with its numerous followers. Filonov is in a class by himself not only in Russian but in world avant-garde art whose artistic discoveries he assimilated and easily synthesized.

An incandescent alloy of talent, passion and implacability, Filonov was a fanatical devotee of his art. He had firm faith in his powers as an artist and as a man, which alone helped him to survive in a situation where, as he put it, he had nothing but his "invincible humour" to rely upon. His disciples were accused of "Filonovism" and warned that they had better denounce the master. One of them was arrested and perished in jail. Both of Filonov's adopted sons died in concentration camps. Since 1930, the artist himself lost all means of subsistence, starved and couldn't even afford keeping his room warm. Despite this forced ascetism, he remained as categorical, maximalist and uncompromising as ever. He made no concessions either in life, or in art. Filonov refused to send his works to exhibitions in Paris, Dresden, Venice and in America before they were shown at home. He declined the offers of a professor's post in the Academy of Arts thrice on the grounds that the academy had to be reorganized.

In the analytical art school, which Filonov founded and where he taught (free, of course) it was a rule not to ask anyone for anything, either for himself, or for the whole class. Filonov declined whatever aid was offered him: the Union of Artists' rations, which meant life in those hungry times, and a pension he was entitled to as a needy invalid. Filonov held that an artist could accept money only as an award for his services in the field of art.

His amazing vigour, industry and endurance seemed infinite, but there was a limit to them, after all. The first winter of the nazi siege of Leningrad became the artist's last.

A proletarian artist

Born in Moscow on January 8, 1883, into a poor family, he lost his laundress mother and cabman father early in life. At the age of 13 he entered a painting course run by the Petersburg Art Patronage Society. Later, he went on to the Academy of Art, was rejected three times but finally got in – only to quit of his own accord two years later. In 1911 he left for Palestine with a pilgrim's passport, then footed it around France and Italy, his pockets empty. Back home he designed the production of the play "Vladimir Mayakovsky," and the poet A. Kruchenykh described his scenery as "awe-inspiring and intense-coloured." During World War I, Pavel Filonov saw action in the Baltic Fleet Division. At the beginning of the revolution he was elected chairman of the soldiers' congress of the division, of the division committee, and the chairman of the executive committee of the Danube Territory. Having arrived in Petrograd in 1918, he handed over to Podvoisky the banners of the division's three regiments, the St. George crosses from its headquarters – and went back to painting.

Filonov stood out on the post-revolution art scene. Through his symbols and phantasies, Filonov, a citizen of his time, philosophized about the past and the present, looked far into the future, conveyed revolutionary enthusiasm and epochal events he witnessed. His symbolism was neither official nor timeserving; it was a pure response of a soul which the revolution had touched "with its hot breath and its thunders" (A. Lunacharsky).

The very names of his pictures indicate the artist's interest in social themes: the numerous "Formulas" of the Petrograd proletariat, of the Komsomol and of imperialism; "Global Shift Through the Russian Revolution," "October," "The GOELRO," "The Future of the North." His theoretical works – "The Making of Pictures' manifesto" (1914) and "The Ideology of Analytical Art" (1915) are declara-

"A Peasant Family" (The Holy Family), 1914.

tive, categorical, and typical of that epoch. The analytical method, or "the principle of making," prescribes that an artist should "build" his picture like nature creates the world – out of atoms and molecules. "Draw every atom thoroughly and precisely!" Working with a small brush on large canvases, Filonov sought, and meticulously painted on, points which he considered minute "elements of action."

It was his conviction that a painter could record life in all its variety and in all the complexity of its visible and invisible forms. A "seeing eye" perceives shape and colour, while a "knowing eye" intuitively discerns latent processes, and the artist then puts them down in abstract terms of line and colour. A. Kruchenykh described Filonov as "the man who saw the invisible" and "a troublemaker on canvas."

To quote "The Ideology of Analytical Art," "a proletarian artist is obliged not only to create works meeting the demands of the present day, but also to force intellect's way to the distant future.

"A proletarian artist has to act upon his proletarian comrades' intellect not only by what is comprehensible to them at their present stage of development..."

In his actual work, Filonov transcends the confines of his declarations by far. He builds a world all his own, a world of polysemantic symbols, piles up atoms and particles, erects an enormous pulsating anthill of human heads and hands, of houses, beasts, flowers – all seen from his distinctive macrocosmic angle. He listened to the music of the Universe.

Before and after 1937

Filonov's "peak analytical tension" is infectious – his canvases are spellbinding and captivating. As one looks at his "Fishing Schooner" – at the masts, the seaman's strong face, the dazzling blue of the sky and the waves – one feels, almost physically the strain of the sails puffed out by the wind, the menace of the raging elements, the agony of waiting and the joy of reunion.

In his "Composition with a Rider" the artist ponders over the fate of mankind. A rider with a dark anguished face, lost in thought, is darting along his life course through good and evil, through joys and sorrows. History and myths are closely intertwined. The picture is full of foreboding – the Apocalyptic horses are drawing mankind to its imminent doom.

One of Filonov's early works, "A Peasant Family," bears an imprint of the Russian iconographic tradition. It shows a peasant Madonna with a baby, bright and serene like the full moon, set in the frame of fairylike scenery. The artist's radiant palette creates the impression of a paradise on earth.

Filonov personages' hands are truly amazing. Whether painted thoroughly down to the last tenuous vein, or merely outlined, crossed or dangling, they are extremely expressive – often more so than the faces.

"Enter the Golden Age" is the name of a series of 23 paintings anticipating the ultimate heyday of mankind, its moral perfection, the resurrection of all the generations on earth and their resettlement on other planets. The pictures of the series were exhibited in the Winter Palace in 1919, drawing the following comment from the art critic Viktor Shklovsky: "Filonov stands out like Mt. Ararat at the exhibition... His canvases formidable, they show the touch of a great master. Filonov's is Russian painting free from foreign influences."

With time, his art grew ever more complex and drama-laden. The series "Heads" opposing human intelligence to cosmos, the series "Souls of Animals" picturing humanlike beasts and beastlike humans warn against the onslaught on living nature.

The moods of Filonov's 1938 pictures, such as "A Raid" and "After a Raid" set apart from the rest. They show prostrate people strewn all over the earth like dry autumn leaves; a youth with his hands thrown up; close-shaven heads, perplexed senile faces of children. Bright colours had faded away from the artist's canvases leaving behind a grey-and-yellow colouring of the barracks.

In 1937 Pavel Filonov copied by hand some stanzas of the poem "Vladimir Mayakovsky" by Nikolai Aseyev. One of them fully applies to Filonov himself. It reads:

Unpredictable,
rebellious,
suffering,
He kept any clichés
at arm's length from his art...

Father Mahfouz

That is how Naguib Mahfouz – the first Arab writer to win the Nobel Prize in literature – is known in Cairo.

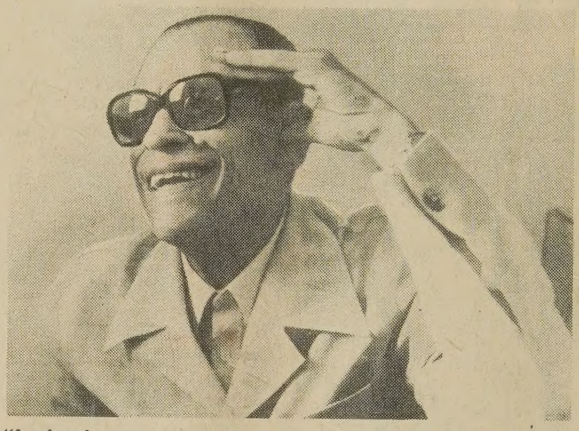
Mahfouz is said never to have left Cairo. Very soon, though, the 77-year-old author will have to board a plane and leave Cairo and, indeed Egypt, for Stockholm where the King of the Swedes, Carl XVI Gustaf, will present him with the diploma of a Nobel Laureate in literature. The prospect is rather alarming for the writer, who suffers from diabetes and hearing problems... "I've never travelled, Cairo gives me enough impressions," said Mahfouz. "I am not fit for a long voyage now, and before I never desired to undertake one."

Naguib Mahfouz was born into a family of a minor civil servant on December 11, 1911, in the old quarter of Cairo. He spent his early days in his native city and graduated from the literary department of Cairo University.

Mahfouz entered literature in the late 1930s. In conformity with centuries-old traditions, poetry predominated in the Arabic literature of the time. Prose, in the European sense, was only at its inception. The first Arab fiction writers used a refined literary language inaccessible to ordinary readers. Naguib Mahfouz was audacious enough to blend the classic norms of literary Arabic with the unruly language of the street. He flung open the doors of the ornate cubicle that was Arab literature to a sparkling sincerity of feeling. "Sincerity is inalienable from genuine literature," says Mahfouz. These words are the artistic credo of the Nobel Prize winner.

Gradually Mahfouz achieved classical perfection in his style and became a bestselling author in the Arab world, his books sold in millions of copies. Theatrical and cinema productions based on his works boosted his popularity not only among the reading public but also among the illiterate, still numerous from Mauritania to Yemen.

Mostly he wrote of the hardships that face the common people in Cairo old town, about contrasts between wealth and poverty in bourgeois society ("The Whisper of Madness," his collected stories), about disintegrating families and the ideological odysseys of the young (the novel "New Cairo"), the loneliness of people lost in the search for happiness and tranquillity, (the novels "Interpalace Passage" and "The Beginning and the End")...Real fame came to Mahfouz when in the mid-1950s he wrote a trilogy named after the old quarters of Cairo



"I don't want to live a day without writing. The day when the thirst to write abandons me will be the day of my death."

(Bein al-Qasrein, Qasr al-Shouq and Al-Sukkeria). It was a monumental work about three generations of a merchant family from Cairo. The British compared the trilogy to "The Forsyte Saga," the French, to Flaubert's novels... Literary critics regularly trace the influence of Balzac, Dickens, Dostoyevsky and Tolstoy in Mahfouz's work, though he himself denies anything of the kind. "The gallabiya (the traditional Egyptian outfit) is more becoming to an Egyptian than European clothes," he says, "and with regard to literature, I am a child of the Egyptian culture."

Father Mahfouz, as he is affectionately called in the Arab world, has created a distinctive school of writing, which has given Egyptian literature a whole generation of writers, the so-called "Mahfouz generation."

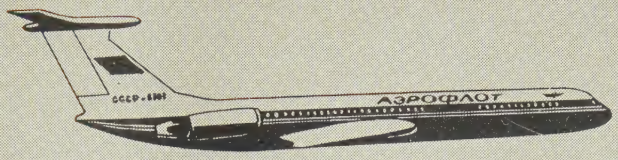
Naguib Mahfouz has agreed to lift the veil obscuring his methods of work. He always writes his books from October to April, late spring, summer and the beginning of autumn he devotes to thinking over new books. Ideas for a new book usually come to him when he is occupied with writing. Mahfouz rises early and goes for an hour-long walk in the old town, then drinks coffee at the Ali Baba, reads the newspapers and magazines and returns home to work till noon. Then lunch and a siesta. Then reading again, this time – books on philosophy, politics and world history. In the evening he likes to watch TV.

It is not Mahfouz's custom to grant interviews. "It's up to me to decide what aspects of my life can be made public," the writer says, "suppose one day I got tipsy... why broadcast the fact? No, sir, my house is my fortress, it's for my work and my family, others please keep off."

Of his younger years and his debut in literature Mahfouz speaks with a bitterness understandable in a man who has lived a long and full life. "Then, only ten per cent of the population of Egypt was literate. But what marvellous people they were! They read everything that came their way. They enjoyed reading and knew much of what they read by heart. It was due to these noble readers that the pillars of Arab literature were born. Today, millions are literate, but people read less. The reasons for this are the economic crisis, the pursuit of illusory material values to the detriment of spiritual ones, the dominance of television... In this context nobody seems to need writers. The writer is denied oxygen, and even if someone still lights the candle, it fades in the vacuum of indifference..."

I find it hard to agree with Mahfouz. The candle he lit 50 years ago is burning, illuminating Arab literature for those who love and appreciate belles lettres.

Jakob Borovoy



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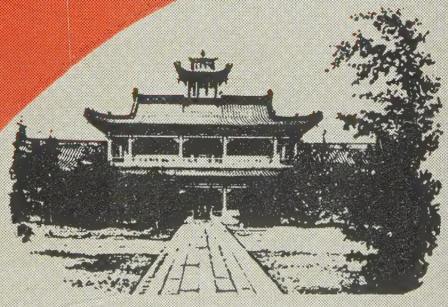

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